"Flying Saucers" The Process of Matter and Energy, Science, the Class and Revolutionary Struggle and the Socialist Future of Humanity

J. Posadas. 29th June 1968

Life can exist in other planets or planetary systems or galaxies in other universes. The organisation of matter from the inorganic to the organic state, can be developed in a different form from here on earth, in such a way that the utilisation of energy is superior to what exists here. Here we scarcely know how to utilise the energy of petroleum in a very limited form, and in its beginning scarely even atomic energy, the sources of energy which we have, whilst they can be utilising all energy existing in matter, not leaving it as potential but utilising all the existing energy in all parts. What is still not known on earth is how to utilise it; they can utilise it and transform it into light.

The organisation of matter can exist in other planetary systems or galaxies in infinite combinations and under forms totally different to those which we know on earth. We are not able to imagine how it is so but what we can imagine is that there can be a utilisation of matter infinitly superior to what exists here. A new ray has been discovered in the Soviet Union which is infinitly more rapid than light, but they have discovered it only now. In other planets, it could have been discovered millions of years ago and they can be utilising it now. Where we take a long time to go from one continent to another, they may do so in a second, in such a way that the conception of life, of the organisation of matter is determined by this. This energy must have a property and a strength infinitly superior to what we know. In the same way it is conceivable that a being who raises his hand and produces light, attracts, remakes and organises energy. This can be done.

We are all accustomed to see and conceive life on earth in the commercial way of private property, in the feeling of possession which is the base on which society has developed, finally advancing towards the Workers State. This is what determines the notion of existence and its relation with the other planets. Because here when they pose to go to another planet, it is to see how they exploit, how they can dominate because science is subject to what they give or pay out. Science is not independant. It is not like someone having an orchard, planting and harvesting what he wants, because even if it is subject in every way to nature, he can determine, what is grown. Science, no, it is subject to what is given or paid out. For example the astronomers or the physicists, from where are they going to find the means to install or have apparatuses to be able to investigate? They cannot themselves do it, they do not have the money. They do not have people or the money to pay them. On the otherhand the capitalist state can do it and the Soviet bureaucracy also. They can install teams but limit their capacity to capitalist interest or to the individual interest of the parasitic caste of society. For this reason the knowledge of physics, of matter or astronomy is still incipient. There is still not a real knowledge, of what exists. The proof is constantly that they are correcting the bases of knowledge, whether of Newton, Einstein, of all of them.

The forms and combinations of matter are infinite. And there are forces in ourselves which we do not utilise and it is necessary to discover the power of what can be done. The force itself which can be found in raising the arm is called "vital energy". Why this energy? What impels the activity within these cells? There is no exterior movement, it is an internal movement and what strength

is that? The strength which promotes this is a source of energy which has to have a primary form,a form of development before raising the arm, because already there exists the capacity which allows the conception through the mind to raise the hand.

There is a Japanese scientist who says what we are saying; that it is a crime to lose such a quantity of energy as in the earthquakes. And moreover that it is possible to have a detecting system - as if it were a type of radar - which observes the movements of the gases which there are in the interior of the earth. This is to say, all the forms which we believe - which are still not known but which exist - whether they be gases or interior displacements, products of gases or movements of rotation of the sun and of the earth which still the scientists do not know. The Japanese scientist say that it is possible, to contain, to divert and moreover to utilise this energy, such as we wrote when there was the earthquake of 1961 in Chile.

The organisation of matter which has allowed on the earth certain forms of life and its reproduction, is limited in scientific capacity, through the capacity of being able to study and the capacity to be able to study from economic capacity. The economic capacity is determined by the force which has the means or the interest,and the interest is capitalism. It is a very great limitation. And moreover the conception of the world which exists is determined through the form of the appropriation of property and its utilisation. This limits the capacity for observation and audacity in observation. Because it is limited through the limitation from social interest and prejudice. In the problem of the heart transplant, this is evident.

When the soviets launched the first sputnik, a socialist idiot of Uruguay wrote a poem called "The Moon Violated". One has to be an idiot to say this. They are incapable and impotent types who say this because they have no conclusion or perspective to be able to advance. As they do not have perspectives, they dedicate themselves to this, because what they see is private property. And to be able to face and study the diverse forms in which matter has been constituted and the forms of the life of matter which is the consequence of the forms of the energy of matter, requires the energy, the conscious organisation as with us. But there is an energy which is not conscious, because if not, as we live, what is the impulse which makes us live? It is one of the forms of energy.

The capitalist energy which impedes the bourgeoisie having perspectives, arises from the fact that they have no interest and are limited in the audacity of observation of the world. Because if they were audacious and resolved, they would see that there were others and then they could not justify their existence. Their interest limits and abbreviates them. Thus they limit physics, chemistry, medicine, all the sciences. On the other hand in other planets, it does not have to be so. There does not have to have been a class struggle. Why? Here on earth it was so, because this history is given. But on other planets, it does not have to be so.

And the forms of the social organisation could be infinitly superior, not to have fights, antagonisms; there is no reason to fight. And if there are beings of planets or universes who are observing us, they would say amazed "and these people fight for a car, fight, shoot and kill". Or with resepct to the notion of death, for them death does not exist. Here it exists. There not only does death not exist by destruction, it does not exist. Here the notion of death, the extinction of matter or of the cell is not the same. In the elephant it is about 260 years in the human being up to 100 years and the mean is 70 to 80 years. If the elephant lasts 260 years, it is because the organisation of matter in this form can last for these years. Not in the elephant state, but in the forms of organisation of matter, which can be as in an elephant or better than it, without the trunk of the elephant. Why not? Here is could have been like this.

If there are beings from other systems or other galaxies already constituted, and how they are constituted we don't know, but we believe they can exist. That beings come to study what is the earth, how is life on earth, it could be. And that there are coming, beings who have left their place millions of years ago. For us it is a million years, for them a million years doesn't have any importance, for them it can be a normal measure. Because they need not be subjected to our notion of time. Time has been and is a notion acquired by society divided into classes, which has a need to measure. And needs it for the exploitation of nature, in order to be able to dominate time to be able to exploit it. From there comes this notion of the division of time, otherwise one wouldn't have this division. This doesn't leave aside that there is a necessity to count intervals and the time of the seasons, winter, autumn, summer and spring. Moreover

in other planets why do they have to have winter, spring, summer and winter? Why do they have to have floods? By the side of this, time doesn't have any importance, here certainly it does, because we are submitted to this idea of time. Here the idea of time exists because there is an interest in measuring the relation with nature, for the effects of life, the effect of energy on the organism and the idea of time for I.O.U.'s and repayment periods. The notion of time is measured for all this. In other planets it doesn't have to be like this. For example, no one is subjected to paying accounts and having another heart transplanted into them. A being from another planet comes sees the heart transplant and says "What is this, what are you doing?" The notion which we have of the origin of life, is what we have learnt from what others have said, but all the time they have been corrected. For example the antiquity of the existence of the human being on earth. First it was 500,000 afterwards a million years. Now they say that it was 70 million years from the appearance of the first anthropoid.

All these reports of the UFO (unidentified flying objects) are consistent in different parts of the world. There are many consistent dates which are not all exagerations. We believe and admit that these beings can exist. The majority of the people who have seen them say that they are normal beings and many of them have declared that they themselves are neither spiritualists nor believers in phantasy. There are now many cases of people who have seen these UFO's. General McArthur, this Yankee assassin said on one occasion when a plane disappeared after having collided with a strange object. "Perhaps we will have to make a war together with the Soviet Union, against an enemy outside earth". It is certain that he was very interested, because he was seeking conciliation with the soviets and it could also be that the divulging that these objects existed was in order to reach conciliation with the soviets but this conciliation has a limit.

The most lengthy life of the human being which is known is 160 years. One can maintain full faculties of thinking up to 80 or 90 years. This can be done here on earth. Certainly an elephant lives for more than 200 years and preserves the memory of an elephant of 20 years. That is to say that the duration of memory can be extended to more than 100 years. And these beings can be more than a million years old. Why can't they be like this? Has not the human being existed for more than a million years? And then why can't a human being of 1 million years exist living and organised? And which reproduces itself incessently without destruction. Here matter persists and continues reproducing itself, matter does not disappear; what disappears is one of the forms of matter which is human life. It disappears and is transformed into another thing and helps to be transformed into another thing. In other planets matter can be transformed by itself, without the need of abolishing either its state or its constitution as a human being and without passing to being ashes and feeding another thing. What does the seed mean? That matter is reduced to a primary state and from there goes to feed other elements and is reproduced in a new form of matter. Not in another life, for there is the need to reproduce without the need of dying. We are not saying that this exists, but that it is possible, it is completely possible.

Still energy is used in a very limited mechanical and rudimentary form. Today the transformation of matter into energy is used a lot but not the energy existing in the natural state. This has to be done. For example, to eliminate all the process of refining the petrol to transform matter into a form of energy. One fine day, they are going to make energy from the air, they will transform it into energy. If electricity has been discovered it is through the structure and behaviour of matter and it is profited from because they have reached this limited discovery. Electricity will not be necessary tomorrow, everything which there is, will be energy. So that a thing, an object exists it has to have energy otherwise it does not exist.

The organisation of the human body, of the head, and the organs and senses, come from here, from the earth. In other planets they can develop in another way. Including the feeding action which we have, ingesting food as we do it, is because the human organism is constituted in this way. And in part, because it is convenient to capitalism that the organism is constituted like this, otherwise we would not have to live as we live now, subjected to this regime of existence.

The scientific capacity of the human being is determined by the social organisation, and the social organisation is determined by the objective which is sought and in all this the capacity of social organisation comes first. Social organisation of private property is very limited, because the range which it can have and the impetus, the impulsion, the heart, the audacity which it gives, is that which is determined by the interest of individual appropriation, nothing

more. Thus the capacity of audacity is very limited, because it is held down by the level of the interest. If it goes further it sees that it is superfluous. Thus its social limitation makes a limit to its social capacity. And with the Soviet bureaucracy, the bureaucracy of the Workers State it is the same. Thus the form of measuring capacity, still doesn't have a limitless basis, as in socialist society which has no limits. Because then the notion of life, of existence and of society is measured by the objective interests of living and progressing. The idea of existence will be existence and progress, will be a single thing. An idea of conservatism, of being static, parasitism,passivity is not going to exist because the only existence is progress as in matter. Matter does not exist without progress without transforming itself. Its form is to develop, develop. It is the same also with the life of society. It is not going to exist without progress. Then the social condition of existence is progress. It is going to give from its foundation, by its existence, an impetus to ability and audacity, which is going to be a million times greater than the ability of the system of private property. Because it doesn't have limits, it is not determined by what interests the individual, and its security and confidence comes from all of society. And it is the common and social thought which is going to change the forms of life. For example all the time it takes to go to the moon, in socialist society fifty or a hundred years from now people are going to go to planets one million light years away. It is a million years today, but it is not going to be a million years.

All the problems derived from the idea of the earth, gravity, atmospheric pressure, pressure due to altitude, all these will be resolved easily. Above all an answer to the essential problems is going to be found; the social capacity organised in a single thought which is society, will be that which will be able to resolve everything. It is not going to be like today with just a number of people thinking, nor are there going to be universities like now, These only exist when it is necessary to make a distinction, a separation so that one person studies in order to subject another. Because the university exists today to prepare some professionals, so that they exploit society to the benefit of capitalism. For this reason there are universities. Tomorrow there won't be any need for them, there will be a single objective and this will be the university. Progress will be common to all. This is audacity in front of nature.

This problem has importance for the marxist formation and Marxist knowledge is limitless, it is not constrained within the bounds of social struggles, nor the economic or political struggles, it is limitless. The understanding of existence gives security to find a solution to any problem. There isn't any problem which is unconnected to humanity. All the problems of humanity have an influence one on the other. When there is more dominion of the knowledge of history, of humanity, of the economy, of society of matter the greater is the security to find solutions and to be audacious and resolved. Even without a previous scientific knowledge and preparation of a particular branch of science, but having a scientific preparation of the instrument, which is marxism, the dialectic, it is possible to solve all the problems. This is the essential aspect. The other is socialist audacity, objective, which marxism really gives. We are not submitted, dependent either on what there is now or on what is going to come. We are objective and our thinking does not have any limit the extent of this capacity is not limited by any consideration. It is limited simply because there is no human capacity to understand. Human capacity itself is a product of the social relation. Because of this in socialist society, human capacity and knowledge will be the norm of the human being, the norm. There will be scientific capacities superior to Marx but they will play the same historic function as Marx. The development of history has evolved and there exist other conditions which did not exist in the time of Marx. On the other hand in the near future scientific knowledge, scientific proof and social security will give a great social ability. But we are not living in socialism, still we are living in this society.

Marxism has an essential condition, the critical spirit, in order to conserve its inextinguishable historic power until superior forms of interpretation come, which will permit us to understand the process of nature and the dialectic as part of marxism. The critical spirit means a constant sentiment of revision, of analysis, of examination, in order to see how to develop, how to behave what conclusions what effects emerge from the development of nature and society. Marxism in itself is inextinguishable, because it is a method of understanding the history of the world. The method of interpretation of movement will pose forms superior to Marxism, not because Marxism is incorrect, but because humanity is going to reach a better understanding, and

then the dialectic will form a part of this instrument.

A velocity superior to that of light has been discovered, thus there is a process superior to the velocity of light. This shows that all the actual conception of the structure of matter is in question. All! And moreover it confirms our conception. Matter does not have a form in its structure, it has no form. Because of this is is possible to find life in any place, inconceivable forms of existence. Forms from the primary up to all the superior forms of existence. The forms and combinations are infinite. All these people who admit the existence of flying saucers, do not do it with scientific eagerness and a will to develop this knowledge, but impressed and obligded to state a true fact nothing more. But they do not have the objectivity to use the knowledge to apply it to other social knowledge. For example, if life exists in other places it means to say that there are superior formsof social organisation, which do not have to live as here, with wars. All those people who admit the existence of flying saucers simply state, like a man who is projecting a light which is reflected off a wall and he says, 'this is light' nothing more. They don't draw any conclusions from this.

On the other hand we take it as a base to dominate history, and consequently to give security which is the basis of audacity. The basis of social-historic audacity is security, as is shown by the Vietnamese masses. So marxism gives security to our teachers and we ourselves give it, to humanity. It is most important, it is of fundamantal inportance to be concerned with these problems, but there is no time to be concerned with them. Without doubt it is necessary to dedicate all the head to the problems which are ahead, without eliminating the concern for these problems. We are not indifferent, but what we say is that in these moments we cannot be concerned with them but we admit such an existence through dialectic proof. Thus it gives us the security to be able to dominate any phenomenon which exists and nothing takes us by surprise. It does not divert us, does not confuse us, does not make the dialectic method vacilate, on the contrary, it confirms it, and everytime it is confirmed more and more.

The discussion of these problems has an importance to strengthen the dialectic capacity to interpret all the problems. Thus it gives security and above all gives stability in the historic understanding and in the historic decision to intervene. Historic means to face up to the big problems, not the small problems of the factory, of the trade union, the organisation of the students, but all the problems. Like directing the revolution which requires security and audacity and which a small group may question that it possesses because it feels itself small and does not see the possibility of doing this. The other is to affirm material tests, testing experiences. We affirm, that the there can be other beings on other planets and flying saucersfrom the knowledge which we have which comes from the dialectic of what is matter and the orgnaisation of matter. As a consequence this is unlimited. For example the amoeba which is unisexual. Reproduction does not have to be via couples, there can be self reproduction. And why cannot this the case in the future in the human being? He will be self reproducing.

These beings who come from other planets come to look at the life here, to see what goes on here and laugh at these human beings on earth who fight to see who has more guns, more cars, more wealth. The possessor of riches is a distortion of the social organisation of human feeling now possible; the fraternal collective feeling. To possess riches is a degeneration of these feelings, because why does the bourgeoisie want twenty cars, ten, hundered factories, to be general why? What does it give? Possession, social power good and so what? over others, This does not give the capacity to transcend, to elevate and develop existence. On the contrary, it limits it. This class - the bourgeoisie - cannot have an interest nor has a perspective in seeking the objective development of society. They cannot have such a concern because they live exactly by the reverse, preventing development. They develop with the material goods to be useful to them, to maintain private property, the cult of private property and to develop their property of appropriation. For this reason they are limited in understanding and have no interest and give no solutions.

Even if these reports of flying saucers are fantasies, as is possible that the majority may be, many of them, the historic basis is correct. Neither the soviet bureaucracy nor imperialism, nor capitalism nor any scientific bourgeois can reply to this. They do not have an interest because it transcends and surpasses them. And for what they can do, they do not have the capacity and the means, because they depend on the structure of the great scientific institutions and of investigations submitted to and dependant on capitalism and on the Soviet Bureaucracy.

It is necessary to take this not as an accidental, occasional conern which arises because a person two metres tall arrives, fair haired with transparent clothes, but as a necessity to understand. If it was not so, we would have made this discussion before. Already we have done it before, complete enough, because it was the point of an exposition. This discussion must be a source of scientific knowledge, of scientific security not simply to know more. It is necessary to know this, which means in consequence to prepare dialectically to know. It is necessary to study Marxism, to study all that may be necessary, to dedicate time to understand and apply. The application is an aspect, to a branch of knowledge which is fundamental and will be fundamental until the next stages not only with respect to this but to other aspects which exist, for example on thought.

The velocity of thought can be measured with the velocity which the material means of dominion give. Thought is today still limited and weak, very weak and very limited. Tomorrow thought will be infinitly greater, more powerful, quicker, more rapid. Life will express itself in a more synthesised form for the dominion over nature. With the elimination of the class struggle, eliminating the necessity to fight, to live, and on the other hand, feeling the harmony necessary to live, thought then has a field of action and possibilities of development, millions of times more than now. Then thought is abbreviated, the same with the child also.

To draw the conclusions in depth of these problems, it is necessary to follow them attentively, to interest ourselves, to discuss, to investigate, to learn, to study because there are going to be other events like these. There are a series of things, as already I have posed before which calls the attention: why does this being from another universe whom they claim to have seen, have the human structure which we have? What then does this mean? It means that the development of matter is the same as here otherwise it would not reach this form. On the other hand the use of matter is superior to here. It is the organisation of matter, because this organisation allows in consequence the use of it and the creation of organs. The creation of organs is not arbitrary, it is determined by the composition and the relation of matter. The organisms is structured like this. It is the relation between the initial base, inorganic matter, its organisation towards the organic form and afterwards the enviroment and existence in the environment; the organisation of matter. If these beings come and have the human structure or appear to have the same structure, it means that they have a process of organisation of matter which in a certain form is the same as here. Or they can have utilised matter in this way. With the dominion of science they can do it as here for example when they transform a mountain. What today Mao Tse Tung says must be done with pick and shovel, these beings do by moving the energy of the mountain, putting it in action. The energy in repose which is the mountain, they make it function and immediately. This is possible but it is not a problem that we can resolve or that can be resolved now. Not because it cannot be done, it will be resolved, but there is no time, nor the necessary means to do it. A concluding fact is that already life is reproduced , already it is being reproduced and life is being made. And if here now, life is made, in other planets also. It can be that these beings also do it. If here, now they graft lungs, hearts, livers, kidneys, hands, five of the fundamental parts of the human body, if now they do it here, it is possible that in other planets life is so elaborated. Engels said that in his epoch already a protoplasm was made in an artificial form which is an essential base of the components of the cell. Already it can be and was the essential base of existence.

It is necessary to take this discussion as part of the political preparation from any point of view. Politically, from the discipline, from the understanding and of the organisation. Each one must take for himself what is necessary, the political conclusion, the discipline, the organisation and the overcoming of what it is necessary to overcome. It is a good accompaniment to the political discussion.

J. Posadas. 29.6.68.

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Affectionate Relationships within the Party. J. POSADAS.

JULY 1962.

INTRODUCTION This document of Cde. Posadas, is given as part of the Bolshevik conceptions of the IV International of a revolutionary communist morality, preparing and building the militants for the historic tasks at hand in the final settlement of accounts with world imperialism, that of fusion of the IV International with the revolutionary currents and tendencies of the revolutionary and communist masses, based on the conceptions of human relationships, human affection in a socialist society which exist today in the collective fraternal sentiment of the world revolutionary masses.

The life in the Party, its harmonious functioning, the political preoccupation and elevation of the cadres of the Party in the moral discipline and collective harmony are a fundamental part of a conscious ability of the comrades of the Party to unify themselves with the communist feelings of the masses in the world socialist struggle for a superior human life and relationship.

The Party must be capable to act with the greatest concentration of will, to give the best ideas to make the programme, revolution and consciousness advance and this needs the most elevated climate of collective intervention, harmony and moral purity. It enables the Comrades and the couples in the Party to overcome the demoralising pressures of a crumbling bourgeois society and its culture.

Human affection and security develops in the collective strength of the Party which is a synthesis of the immense force of the world revolution, and, as this document shows, is a conscious struggle for socialist relationships as part of a militant's preoccupation and contribution to history in the overthrow of capitalism and laying the basis for world communism.

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Our conception of love is not abstract. Feelings are not a thing aside from the bolshevic line, the dialectical line of our life. There does not exist abstract amorous inclinations. One of the most important qualities of our formation consists in the education and development of our feelings and affections in a pure form, directing and orientating them in a conscious and pure manner and in an homogeneous way with our struggle and objective. The impulsion of sex is enormous. But we have the bolshevic education and we live in a bolshevic manner, concentrating all our attitudes under the conscious direction of the purity of our actions. And, in this manner we do not allow that feelings, exitations, sensations which dominate and drag us to miserable attitudes, whether sexual or sentimental, or political, are woken in ourselves and developed. We succeed in rejecting all the political, social, cultural pressures, that are rotten, thanks to the party, but not through acting in thin air, but by leading a life of constant education, of discipline by imposing on ourselves the discipline of life that allows the elevation of ourself security , in all the actions and to the maximum possible, in order that they be orientated normally, purely by our pure conception of life.

The problem of love - as one normally calls it, in the majority of the amorous cases - is simply a state of sexual exitation, of sensualism. In depth, it is corruption. In the social relationships of the capitalist society, at the top of the bureaucracy of the Workers States, and of the bureaucracy of the capitalist countries, in the leaderships of the socialist parties, there exists an unfettered sexual drive and a tendency to be dominated by it, defeated by it. In the final analysis they reflect all their lack of perspectives, their own absence of future. They are defeated by these sensations that lead them to perversion and to corruption. The pressure on our movement is powerful too. In the stage of collapse, of final assault of of the masses against capitalism, the tendencies that express despair express

themselves in many ways. The most eloquent and the most perverse is the sexual tendency, the sexual vices, the drugs .... etc. The Teddy boys are only a reflection of this tendency. Basically it is the search for sensations that are, by their conception and their origins, individualist and which they cannot find in the struggle for human progress (also they express class interest although the teddy boys do not represent the layers of the bourgeoisie, or the petit bourgeoisie). The consequences are perverted action, dominated by individualist inclinations of sexual or criminal sensations. In every teddy boy there is potentially a criminal. All these people are in search of victims, they enjoy themselves by the thought of their crimes, they enjoy themselves in their search of victims. They not only enjoy it at the moment of the action, whether sexual, or drinking, or drug addiction, or gambling, etc. they excite themselves and enjoy secretly the excitation which the thought of what they are going to do, provokes.

In our Party there does not exist such problems; this is certain. They do not exist under the perverted form of tastes and criminal sensations, but they exist under another form of individualism, personal taste, of a search for a complement to the struggle. The fall of imperialism, the visible advance of the Workers States, and of the colonial revolution, all this attracts humanity powerfully and attracts thousands of people into the ranks of the revolution, not only the workers, but some petit bourgeois and even bourgeois. These like the workers, come and develop their activity under the constant pressure of the decomposition of capitalism, of the decomposition of the communist parties, of the leaderships of the working class, and of the Workers States. And they carry into our movement, at the same time as the healthy desire to struggle for socialism, the influence and the reflection of the decomposition of society and of general public opinion, that stems and appears from that very situation. They believe that it is permissable to unite the struggle for the revolution and socialism, with the duplicity of the search of amorous sexual sensations. And these influences that exist can weigh and be a hindrance in our party, a force of resistance that prevents the militants from developing all their forces and all their qualities. These amorous or sexual tendencies divert them from the concentration of thought, of will and of revolutionary decision. And in the same time, they consciously open the way to inclinations, preoccupations sensations that dominate, undermine their will power and prejudice their mental activity, to their political activity or to their practical activity. They leave wide open the door to the possibility of the development of feeling and inclinations of all sorts, individualism, arrogance, pride, etc. But not only this type of pride, of arrogance. These are not the most dangerous. Pride, intellectual arrogance, lead as well to the satisfaction of urges, of amorous acts, of seeking satisfaction in periodical sexual relationships, that can affect and introduce themselves in the midst of the relationships already installed between other comrades. This introduction, is possible when there is some basis of insecurity or dissatisfaction in the already installed relationships. In these cases the inclination to look for love or being loved is only an action of abominable sexual incitement. Miserable. The duty of any comrade is to intervene in order to give some basis to re-establish the comprehension and the reciprocal attraction.

To be inclined to act amorously alluring, or to attract a married comrade, with the intention that is not to elevate the militant activity of the comrade, in the purety, and in the pure relationship of the party is a miserable action, of bad feelings. This does not always mean the formation of bad feelings, but it is certainly a concrete action of bad feelings. It means to be in search of a comrade with the purpose to feel either sensation, whether of a sexual type or of a personal type, which, even if there has not ever been any actual sexual relationship, it still exists as such in the mind. And, in depth, it is the same thing. This attitude is the same as the one who, in place of correcting a comrade, inclines himself to impel the other in doing wrong to the party. The harmony of the militant life, must be complete. Even if the comrades were not living together in a harmonious way, effectively, (the married comrade and his companion) and even in the case when it was necessary for them to become separated, they must never do so before a period of direct intervention of the Party in order to help them to overcome it has past.

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contd on page 5

AFFECTIONATE RELATIONSHIPS IN THE PARTY. Contd from page 4

any comrade who seeks to allure or tends to provocate matrimonial separations. One of the essential bases of the militant formation is the search for equilibrium, unity, of the feelings, affections, subjected to the consciousness and the militant bolshevic will. Among this is the conscious sexual need. The search for sexual satisfaction must be a conscious action determined by the necessity of harmony between sexual necessity, the amorous one and the construction of the militant will, consciousness and the militant spirit . To seek for sexual satisfaction or 'love' , outside this equilibrium and this unity, is to tend to break the harmonious unity of our life. And, it is consequently, the contradiction which hinders and perverts.

For the young comrades - young by their age that is limited, but adults by their political and militant maturity - the problem of love takes place on this line. Human will power builds itself, elaborates itself consciously. It structures itself on the base of the internal activity of the thoughts, that regulate the functioning of the mind and of the feelings with the activity of the party, the study in the incessant process of the exercise of noble activity, in the militant life and in the family and in matrimonial life. There does not exist anything like love in abstract. The social relations and the party relations are taking place on the base of the activity that determines the base for love. Outside these milieux, there exists the ambiant mileux of the bourgeoisie. We, for the sake of our education, always firmly take the resolution of never abandoning any struggle without making sure that all the means of triumphing, or advancing have been exhausted. So, the party builds itself, in the security of the fact that from its own activity depends the development of history and of the party. Once a definite action is undertaken, one must lead it up to its end in order to impose it or to make it triumph. Otherwise, the militant will power, the self confidence, and the confidence in the Party yields before the disadvantages, the effects of the contradictory factors and the struggle of the enemy. And then, the militant does not build himself in the security of his own firmness and militant will but but in indecision, irresolution and the lack of security and confidence.

When in our Party a couple does not function well, our task, mainly if the comrades are young, is to tend firmly in order to act in a way as to maintain the unity of the relationship, but on the basis of the political, militant elevation, while ameliorating the relationship, while intervening in order to guide and impel the harmonisation of their relationship. Comrades come into the Party, marry each other, all this while bringing together with them, the education, habits, customs, influences that they daily receive from capitalist society. Lack of harmony, disagreements, that present themselves, in the majority of cases as a lack of 'love', are, for the major part a complete absence of life, of comprehension, of previous spiritual development. The Party can, and must be this conscious bridge, in order to elevate the lives of the comrades. One must at least try, consciously, for a long length of time otherwise the Party gives up the struggle and leaves the causes and reasons of relations between comrades. to be determined by sensuality.

Love is having a basis, either made of attractions, or inclinations of a physical, material type that refelcts the different degrees or levels of comprehension of sensations, and of human consciousness. And also the different degrees of formation and dominion of the will by the revolutionary consciousness. In the case of marriage between young comrades an absolute demand of responsibility in their relationships is particularly required, the process of elevation of their relationship, and in the conquest of the sort of love based on the life with and for the Party. Under the influence of the capitalist decomposition, the marriage of young people inside the Party are influenced by the perverted relationships of the capitalist system. And they bring problems, in a dramatic or acute way, when finally there is never any serious attempt and no particular effort to establish a relationship of love that would be based on militant activity and mutual respect and behaviour of affection and tenderness in the perspective of the socialist struggle. Concrete perspectives of activity and daily struggle. The spirit, the behaviour can be educated and are the consequence of a conscious activity dedicated to elevate one and the other. If one does abandon this, mainly young comrades, to develop their sense of responsibility in marriage, one educates the comrades in negligence, in the fragility, and the insecurity, and lack of firmness and of responsible security in the activity. Sooner or later, the insecurity dominates the activity or the security defeats and overcomes the amourous problems, the problems of a sentimental type etc.

contd page 11

MBERRI

2nd January, 1970.

; there was a provocation
:o provoke a massacre. It
ors were allowed in. At
not allowed to leave. At
nd children. We immediately
tors to leave. The prison-
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hot by the warders. A
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nto this provocation. Now we are
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this attack, against the
the hunger strikers, but in

contd page 11

LETTER FROM ADOLFO GILLY IN LECUMBERRI JAIL contd from page 10

general against all the political prisoners, because for this tendency they are a problem without solution.

I must finish this letter because the messenger is leaving and there may not be anyone else for the moment, as we are in a state of seige and prepared to defend ourselves.

We ask you to denounce all these actions and in the meantime we will defend ourselves with all our strength. As soon as we can, we will issue a communique of the block and of all the prisoners.

We send our fraternal greetings for the the comrades,

ADOLFO GILLY,
(Cell block N. Lecumberri Jail, Mexico)
Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist)
Mexican Section of the IV International.

CAMPAIGN FOR THE RELEASE FOR THE MEXICAN TROTSKYISTS

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AFFECTIONATE RELATIONSHIPS IN THE PARTY Contd from page 5

Our task, in the case of disharmony, or of disagreements, whether in the case of both comrades, or in the case of only one, is to demand that a responsible attitude be taken to elevate the relationship, to demand the intervention of will power. If they are companions they must be responsible for the task of elevating their relationship. It is only after a period of lasting struggle under the control of the Party that one can assess the separation. Waiting for the assessment, our duty is to seek to the maximum degree, honestly, and in a responsible manner, to maintain the union and elevate it, because it is a demonstration of authority, of collective intervention of the Party. Otherwise one lets oneself function in a decentralised way.

Love can be built and elaborated. The feelings are a consequence of the human relations as they are, and of the social relations. The Party, Marxism, the struggle for workers power and the construction of socialism, is full of contradictions. There are some people who come to the Party with many complications, and one must build them. It is not allowed to lack or escape from these criterias. The Party gives the example and imposes, once confronted with such moral failings that exist in the Party, imposes clearly the immediate acceptance of criticism, and the full application of correction, of dedication to study, to work for the party, and for a short period, the overcoming of oneself, by a special activity of self criticism, and centralised around the Party, in order to deserve again the dignity of a militant.

I condemn as miserable, corrupt, as undignified for our morality any attitude that tends to allure or to let oneself be allured by a married comrade. It is only the ordered, harmonised realisation of the sexual problem, with the construction of the Party, that gives the basis to surmount, and solve such bad and miserable actions.

J. Posadas. July, 1962.

Without the Party we are nothing. With the Party we are everything.
TROTSKY

The substitution of the bourgeois state by the proletarian state is not possible without violent revolution.
LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL
NO. 145 4th Friday of October 1971 PRICE 3p

Viva the Nationalisation without compensation of the copper mines in Chile

Space science, the function of the Workers States and the construction of Socialism

J. Posadas 1-7-71

The conclusions from the deaths of these comrades, from these colleagues must be faced in a form combined with the analysis of the situation, with the development of the political revolution, the historic reencounter, the partial regeneration, the preparation of imperialism for the war and the world development of the socialist revolution. It is all combined, all united. It is a single theme. Taking the eminently scientific aspects, it is the death of three comrades, who were making an investigation, attained their objective, but did not succeed in returning.

The combination of life and death has expressed itself. Death triumphed individually for these three, but the human progress, which these three represent, does not stop, in spite of them dying. Death is unconscious, it does not have a purpose, it still works through the lack of adequate defence of the human being, because the defence against death still has not been found. There is a dispute with death, because life can be prolonged by treating sick people, by surgery, and by all aspects of medical science. But the most complete way to confront death is to prolong the security of the human being. Then we are going to find all the means, all the material, organic means there are in the relationship between the human being and nature, so as not to dispute with death, but to defeat it, to proceed to conquer it. Death, ultimately, is a result of the wearing out of the organism, so it is necessary to find the key, the means of prolonging this existence, as one of the ways of confronting death. But to do this, it is necessary for the human being to have a clear, tranquil, living mind. Having this results from occupying oneself objectively with understanding society; from seeing nature, and then seeing nature as a function of the objective interest of humanity, not functioning in the partial interests of one or another country, one or another sector of the economy, one or another army, but as a function of the objective interests of humanity; to find the way to inter-relate organisms in such a way as to defeat what today is death.

But the consequence of death is not the elimination of life, but the intimidation of the human being, which takes the form of impressions on the brain, resulting in a state of anguish, of pressure, of fear, of individual anxiety and individual preoccupation, being preoccupied with ones own life, and the rest can go to hell; as with the type who has a weak heart, and spends millions of dollars to cure himself, whilst in Pakistan you could prolong the lives of thousands and thousands with this.

This is still the price of death that acts on each individual, determined by the individual preoccupation, fearing for oneself. On the other hand, eliminating the fear of death, eliminating individual interests, and concentrating on the human being, on the collective life of communism, each one will feel, what is best to do. The thought, the will, the decision, the method will be collective. Then there will exist more elevated forms of thought, and the capacity to objectively understand history, humanity, the acts, the ways of life, to find the ways to live, to overcome nature. Because ultimately death is the way in which nature works. Because nature works like this, it requires a wearing away, a transformation. The human body is still not accustomed, nor does it have the preparation to make the transformation that the plants make, that the elephant makes, that the animals make. Our molecular structure still does not permit us to do this, but we know that it is possible. But the essential base for meeting death is the consciousness, in the mind, in the social thought. And then instead of feeling depressed by death and saying, "I die and the rest of the world, does not matter to me," no, one will say "I die, but the rest go on living". Then one dies, but ones life is prolonged in the others. Then ideas, thoughts, capacity are left to continue in human activity. Thus individually death wins, socially it loses; Because with the ideas, the organic capacity for developing society, it communicates and acquires the means, the consciousness, the security, the collective vigour to defeat death.

This event forms part of the process. But much more important than this, in this stage of history, is the function of the Workers State in humanity, which unites a historical stage of disorder that made it, and still makes it live in constant unheavals, having to struggle for daily food, with security in the future. As the process is unequal and combined, but concentrated, Pakistan occurs, and there is this incident from the moon investigation. And whilst thousands and thousands die in Vietnam, hundreds in the Middle East, faced with this, the disturbance of humanity is very small. But the reaction is immense, because now humanity is used to it, and accepts it as a consequence of the barbarity of capitalism, of the crimes of capitalism. So it defends itself, it does not grieve. Humanity defends itself and defeats capitalism.

But the disturbance provoked by the death of these three comrades is caused, because already in humanity there exists the sentiment and the consciousness of a superior quality in social and collective relationships. Not human social relations in the abstract or in general, but collectively. This world consternation is genuine, and guides humanity, which still does not have the necessary social organisation to express it in any other way. There has been humanity itself expresses in this way, a sentiment of general grief at seeing that something of human value has been lost, which means a great progress for humanity. And besides being a progress that puts all people of the world in contact, it banishes the fear of the unknown and of the future, because to defeat nature is part of the future, because also the stars are the future, further from understanding, from what is going to come, beyond what one can dominate, beyond structure, it is part of the unknown, of tomorrow, and is part of that which gives sensation of social fear. But the Workers States show that this social fear dissolves, because it shows that it can be dominated. The immense historic importance of the Workers State is to make these space experiments; as much for scientific as military interest, and the legitimate right to prepare itself militarily, because imperialism is awaiting the opportunity to launch the atomic war and to try to survive.

But at the same time, these space voyages put all of humanity in communication, and elevates it. It elevates people who are farthest away from the most elevated scientific understanding, and makes them see that today the problem is to find the means to advance, to understand the rest of what exists in the world, of what exists in the universe and to dominate it. It takes away one of the sensations of the essential base of fear. The essential base of social fear is the fear of not knowing how to produce, who produces, where to take the produce. Why price, why money, why crisis, why war? Already this is developing, the world comprehension of all this thought; because the Workers States, the struggles of the masses, the trade unions, the Communist Party is making it known, the action of the masses is going to make it understood. But still the rest, no. How is it that nature is superior to us, to the human being? Not to man, to the human being. The correct title is human being and not man. To keep on still saying man, is because of the previous education of the supposed superiority of man over woman. Although commercially and socially with private property, he is superior to woman, because it gives him more qualities than the woman, historically, humanely in the true analysis they are equal. There is no difference.

This problem of why the astronauts died is not simply to be confined within a superficial truth, but to understand the effects on the human body submitted to conditions of different atmospheric and cosmic structure. This means an internally different composition of the atmospheric structure to ours, with the same elements, but with a different combination i.e. instead of two atoms of hydrogen and one of oxygen. What effect does this have? and besides, there is the assimilation of other gases, other abundant elements in constant suspension, that have the facility of transforming themselves, having an effect, and recomposing themselves, losing a little, a millionth or a five-millionth of its mass. How does this energy behave? What is the way to dominate it, and to see how we can understand certain aspects of the human life, in which the will exercises such an important function, limited, but very important. These are problems that we still do not have answers to, with which we must preoccupy ourselves in the sense of an immediate gain; in the sense of scientific comprehension.

THE WORKERS STATE HAS GIVEN HISTORIC PROOF OF THE CAPACITY OF HUMANITY TO RESOLVE ALL PROBLEMS

The problem of communism in the mind of the most resolved, revolutionary team is already solved. It is a problem of time. For humanity also it is a problem of time. This is already solved, there is no doubt of this. In our head then this is already resolved, and now the problem is more advanced; what is our relationship with the structure of the universe? What influence, what effects will it have on us, what effect on the thinking being? This is what decides. Because of this, it is important, what the astronauts said, "We are a faction without importance, what is important is the destiny of humanity". Yes! This is a communist thought. All these comrades already pose this problem. We want to defeat the fear of the unknown. And the fear of the unknown is a product of the capitalist market, of the form of production, of distribution, of the form of dependence on the universe. It is less than for those who lived before, because now there is a great consciousness. But it still exists, because there is not a domination of this problem. The astronauts posed this. In their heads they do not think like a new caste, but like communists, although they still do not behave like communists, neither do the bureaucrats, who are going to behave as communists, some of them yes. But they are going to facilitate, they are obliged to facilitate this task.

Communist thought wants to know everything, to understand everything. "We will do everything" as Trotsky said. With the difference that in the time of Trotsky he was unable to face this, because there were still many things to discover. Trotsky already foresaw this; "We will know everything". This is what Marx said too. Engels said, "In socialism the human being will not be stopped by any circumstance or any complication, because there will be the boldness, and the security in the thought that one is able to do anything. This is what Engels posed in "The Dialectics of Nature". He realised that nature is powerful, but the human being is more powerful, because nature cannot change, cannot transform itself, but it undergoes temporary, episodic changes of transformations, without destroying its historic position. Ourselves, yes. Because of this we have domesticated nature, we are going to persuade it.

Although it is still necessary to resolve economic problems, problems of power, of the political revolution, of the construction of socialism, already it can be seen that we can solve these problems. As Trotsky, when the soviet power was still not resolved, said "We will understand everything, we will solve everything". But matters were not resolved, and he did not have the experience, nor the practical proof that we have now.

The Workers State has developed the scientific capacity to understand, and to make such historic exploits. This gives security to humanity, an immense security for understanding tomorrow. But it does not give it only because of this. It

CONTINUED OVER PAGE

Space science . . .

gives it because it came out of nothing. There have been no more than 54 years of the first Workers State. It came out of nothing, materially from nothing, as we have said in dozens of texts. The USSR in 1917 was nothing, it was nothing! The Soviets were organised by Lenin and Trotsky, with Lenin at the head, the leader, who organised, they proposed constructing a new social form, new social relations, based on a new form of property relations, of economic structure, which is the Worker State, the road to socialism.

One could see already that humanity was prepared, centralising itself in the means, which it possessed at that moment, which was the very poor and precarious Soviet economy, which was able to advance. If it was for the economy alone, they would not have advanced. It was the will to advance of the people, if not imperialism would have won. If humanity had not got the will to progress, if no one thought it important, or did not give a damn for the USSR, they would not have won.

On the other hand humanity grabbed hold of imperialism and said, "You leave the USSR alone". They did not abandon it. They could not speak one by one, but humanity expressed itself in the rebellion of the French fleet on the Black Sea, the rebellion of the people, who were sent to fight the USSR, the action of the armies of Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Rumania, who passed over to the Soviets. It is the world pronouncement of the people, as in 1917, when the Russian soldiers "voted with their feet", and refused to fight: humanity voted through them and said; "We are with the USSR, leave it alone". Already without knowing it, they saw the Workers State as a superior form of existence.

The Workers State, although bureaucratically and administrativly controlled, shows that it is possible to make more pronounced, scientific investigations that, although they do not have immediate economic effects, have an immense influence on the masses of the world.

We express our recognition and our complete affection for the Soviet masses, for these Soviet astronaut comrades, and for the USSR as such, including everyone. We express our affection, our complete solidarity. But the masses of the world have seen and have understood that economic measures are not sufficient to determine existence, superior forms of existence and superior preoccupations of existence are necessary, preoccupations that permit domination and the removal of fear of the beyond.

Religion could be born, extend, create, develop, and sustain itself on the ignorance of the people. As people become more conscious, so religion disappears. It is a fire that goes on advancing, but it comes to the green pastures, then it starts to go out, go out, go out... And without anyone throwing water on it, it is extinguished, because the green pasture prevents it advancing. As the people gain understanding, taking security in this, to dominate the problems of the economy, society, the understanding of nature, then they lose the fear, the necessity of having to depend on other forces, because they see through their practical experiences, they are able to reconstruct all that exists, and besides to increase, and improve it, as in the case of the stupidity of nature that still makes the same banana; they are going to make better things, other things of a superior quality.

To do this special feat, the USSR expresses a necessity that is unquestionable. Already humanity feels itself to have the force to abandon the dependency on struggling and making war to survive. It is necessary to eliminate capitalism, which still makes these wars, eliminate the bureaucracy of the Workers States, to impose the Soviet type of organisation that develops the Workers State. Already humanity feels that this is so.

The USSR shows that it is possible to do this, and the immense superiority over the capitalist system is that, with no more than 54 years of existence, after the killing of 23 million inhabitants, destroying 70% of the wealth of the USSR, they did not destroy the most important, the best, which is the base of human progress; the confidence of the Soviet masses that they could reconstruct everything. Capitalism could not do this. As capitalism was losing, retreating, hiding itself, it allied with the Nazis. The masses united and triumphed. They maintained their indestructible confidence that the structure of the Workers State was superior to the capitalist system. Already the masses gave their historic verdict.

The epoch of intelligence and reason is determined by the masses, who directly exert pressure, intervene in direct or indirect form, and determine the course of the process. They do not lead, because they do not have the organisms, but they determine, because of the weight of their will; their decision weighs. They seek whatever way to express themselves, to concentrate themselves, to decide, in trade unions, parties, whatever type of organism. Even in the church, even the military, civil, police institutions of capitalism. The masses use them in any way, to make it known that they are right, and that they can live without having to kill one another to survive and to progress, that they can eliminate the dependency from ignorance, and lack of knowledge, and that consequently they can determine the course of human relations.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PORTRAIT OF LENIN IN SOYUZ AND THE COMMUNIST SENTIMENTS OF THE COSMONAUT COMRADES

This is the basis on which all of humanity today laments the death of these three comrades, but it is also a problem of political calculation. This is a political reasoning determined by the recognition of this historic function, objectively necessary to humanity. Because of this, the masses of the world unify themselves through those organisms, those actions, those elements that objectively signify progress.

Humanity has been constructed in strata, in organs. It was necessary to do it like this, to go on living, to go on developing the economy and society. They could not hope to gain scientific consciousness. Primarily because it was banned, it was prohibited, they did not have means to gain it; they did not have access. They had to go on learning scientific consciousness, consciousness of the relation of existence, through a very precarious form. But the most necessary form to understand is not the scientific consciousness of physics, space physics, nuclear physics, but human relations. This is what determines the security to face the rest. Humanity feels itself secure in facing all these problems, and so we win the base of the Christian Democracy and it passes over to socialism. Whatever important nationalist movement, passing towards socialist nationalism, whatever important social movement, even if it has a non communist origin, ends up as communist, because already there is proof that this is superior to the weight of the bureaucracy of the Workers States and the communist parties. Humanity already differentiates, already reasons and sees, not the superficiality, it sees what is within, and orientates itself well. It does not have organisms to decide, because this requires another series of means, another series of preoccupations and means, and it cannot have them, because it has to live everyday. It has to make strikes, has to defend itself from the war, support the revolutionary wars, support the revolution. But it gives its encouragement, its support, creates a world climate of public opinion that encourages the sectors, those who decide and advance under this stimulus. It obliges them to advance. And it is going to eliminate fear. Because of this it concentrates itself now with a sentiment of very profound pain and sadness to see the three people die, who did this act, which means an immense progress for humanity; not just for the death of these three comrades, because death is still unavoidable, it cannot be stopped, but for the significance it has as a great progress in which humanity seeks to defeat inconvenience, space, the unknown, forms still unknown for science, to confront forms of new relations with nature. They are new relations with nature, or with the cosmos, and in these new relations it was logical that there would be a series of results like this, and these three comrades knew it.

Being experienced in the domain of space, they would have known this. They knew the effects, but they went none the less. They had already experienced it. They did not want to be paid millions, only the order of Lenin. VIVA LENIN!

They did not want millions, like they give the Yankees. None of them wanted this. On the other hand they took up Lenin; Lenin signified the objective expression of the force of communism to objectively impel the progress of humanity. Because of this, these three Soviet comrades had Lenin in their cabin, and did not take a toy dog, which is what the American astronauts took; these went without any preoccupation, and without any relations with the progress of humanity. Lenin signifies the most elevated progress of society.

The picture of Lenin was not adherence to the leader of the Russian Revolution, but the most elevated expression of the progress of humanity. Besides that, it is the recognition that these are the means for the progress of humanity. This is why they took Lenin. It was a symbol, it was direct communication, between the past of 1917 and the future of humanity. They did not take up Lenin simply as a symbol, or as a means of communicating with the world worker vanguard. This was part of it. But they took it as a means of communicating with the Soviet masses, with the masses of the world, to show them what is the aim of the objective development of the USSR; which is not the conscious development in the interest of the bureaucracy. Their historic nature prevents them from having this capacity of comprehension. Their historic nature is counterrevolutionary, but in their actual function they cannot be counterrevolutionary, they are obliged to confront capitalism. This obliges them, then, to change their structure, change their functioning, and maintaining their historic counterrevolutionary nature they have, in their turn, to work objectively to contain capitalism, without leaving the controls and the lever of power. They have to combine all this. But already in this combination they cannot surrender as they did in Spain or Greece. Now they have to let Lenin go up with Soyuz, to give arms to Egypt and to send 20 thousand Soviet soldiers to Egypt. The fleet in the Mediterranean does not go to smash the revolution, it goes to support the revolutionary movement of the Arab masses, and also in part to control it, to mediate and impede what escapes its control, but already it cannot dominate this control. Now it cannot do this.

MANKIND CAN CREATE NEW RELATIONS WITH NATURE

The masses of the world see Soyuz, the Soviet astronauts, and the behaviour of the leadership of the Workers State. They see that it is not as before, that even though there is not a constant, permanent, revolutionary behaviour, seeing that there is not yet the revolutionary behaviour, that calls for the struggle for power, and the smashing of the capitalist system, they see that the bureaucracy stimulates the struggle by confronting the capitalist system. It is accompanied by positions and measures that tend to conciliate with capitalism. But the masses understand that in the course of history, what is obviously tending to become elevated, is not conciliation with capitalism, but the inevitable necessity of confronting the capitalist system. They see that this trip to space of Soyuz was not to conciliate with the system. Because of this, they put Lenin forward. If not, they would not put him forward. It is the superiority of the Workers State that said to the masses of the world; "This is better than the capitalist system". Objectively, although the bureaucracy tries to appropriate this progress to justify its own existence, it impels the revolution, now it must impel the revolution.

The masses of the world see these conclusions. They measure the exact, concrete function of science. In capitalism science means Vietnam, signifies the crushing of the North American masses, it means the imprisonment of Davis, it means the assassination of presidents and senators of the United States, the killing of Negro leaders, even pacifists, while Soyuz and the picture of Lenin signify the support for Egypt, the support for Korea and Vietnam, the call for the Anti-imperialist World United Front, and the unconditional support for the Latin American governments that confront imperialism. The masses unify this. Although seeing and feeling that it is possible to do much more, they unify it in their consciousness, and see that these are useful measures. They do not have means of distinguishing, reasoning, deducing and determining politically, because they do not have the organisms to do it; so where there are communist parties, workers centres, socialist parties of the masses, the masses have the means to intervene. But in a whole list of countries such a possibility does not exist, in Latin America, in Africa, in Asia. Never the less, the masses have not been mistaken. Imperialism has not succeeded in attracting a single mass movement in the world, neither with its astronautical expeditions, nor through the war it makes. Not a single one—which shows the masses sense of smell, and their sense of historic indignation. Not a single movement has been gained. While in whatever part of the world, every important movement of the masses has a bond, in one way or another, with the Soviet Union, with China, with Cuba. It is the inclination, the tendency of the masses in a natural form, measuring and judging history by the social economic consequences, obviously, but also the social relations. They see the superiority of the Soviet regime. They still see in a very limited way, because there are not soviets in the USSR, and there is not socialist democracy. But even so, although socialist democracy does not exist, progress and the path is not towards augmenting the negation of socialist democracy. They are going to have to open the doors, like the discussion of the writers, which is not the same as the discussion of the writers two years ago. It is a discussion in which is posed, though in a general form, but not abstractly, that art must serve the construction of communism. Not "Socialist Realism", the construction of socialism. Stalin said "Socialist Realism", which was just him boasting; preventing the formation of currents of public opinion in art, of description, of works that were a condemnation of the Soviet bureaucracy. This is "Socialist Realism". It was a eulogy above reality, directed to sustaining, supporting, submitting itself to the Soviet bureaucracy. On the other hand the construction of communism includes the heroism, and the capacity of the workers in the construction, which these writers like Solzhenitsin resent; "No, this is an abberation. The writer must be free to say what he wants". Why does he have to be free? Does the bourgeois also have to be free? Does the soldier also have to be free? Does the politician have to be free? Why does the writer have to be free and the politician not? Does not the trade union have to be free? The trade union is to defend the revolutionary class interests, to impel the struggle for socialism. And why shouldn't the writer have to do the same? Does he lead a life of relations apart from this? Does he live in some compartment outside existence? Where are the roots of his inspiration? What are they? Whose are they? This is to say the writer is aquiring an elitist attitude, an elitist inclination and conclusion. This Congress of Writers is combating this. The achievements are limited, but it is combating this. Before is supported itself on this. Before they put them in prison as insane, they put them in prison. They could not combat them bureaucratically, and if they combated them with the truth, making the masses intervene, the bureaucracy would have to send them to the mental hospital too. Today they feel more powerful. What it is necessary to see from this Congress of Writers is not these conclusions, but the significance of these conclusions. Before they made them prisoners, because they could not face them, now they face them and tell them; "No art has to be like this". Because behind them is Soyuz, is the Lunakhod, but also is the support of Egypt, the Middle East.

Science is not an abstraction, socially considered science is human, social consciouness. Science is not the result of the capacity of one or another individual. It finds a nucleus or is centralized in one or another individual, in one or another layer of the population. Consciousness signifies knowing the structure, the relationship, the movement of things whether through scientific formula or social progress. This is science. All the rest has been added. But this is science, because to live it is necessary to know nature. What it to know nature? How it moves, how it lives, how it functions, how it transforms itself. This is science. All the rest is to add words and pedantries. But they add no capacity. Until now humanity has made a particular distinction in relation to science, because they did not have access to it. They did not have access. Once humanity has access to it, it will lose all its mystery. Science! Science is simply the organised consciousness, the organised consciousness that permits intervention in the relations with nature. But the most important are the social relations that determine the capacity to later extract from nature. Capacity signifies; the capacity to see, to dominate, to transform and to find the means to realise such action. Thus death triumphs individually and not socially.

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THE SOLDIERS AND THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION IN ETHIOPIA

26.11.74. J. POSADAS

VIVA THE INTERVENTION OF THE EGYPTIAN WORKING CLASS IN THE CAIRO DEMONSTRATION TO IMPEL THE STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALISM AND IMPERIALISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST!

VIVA THE NATIONALISATION OF THE BANKS AND INSURANCE COMPANIES IN ETHIOPIA AS PART OF THE DECISION OF THE ARMY TO APPLY THE PROGRAMME OF SOCIALISM!

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WORKERS CONTROL IN THE FACTORIES TO IMPOSE THE PROGRAMME OF NATIONALISATIONS!

Wilson's violent attack on the car workers is symptomatic of the constantly aggravating crisis of perspective of the capitalist system. Its threats of unemployment, mirror all the hopelessness, the total lack of capacity of capitalism to defend its positions, the total lack of any programme or pretence of a programme to revive capitalism. Such an attack in face of the solid and profound concentration of the will of the British proletariat to extend the programme of nationalisations and its refusal to tolerate the imbecile policies of private property, is a mark of despair, despair of capitalism and more specifically of all those fossilised sectors of the right in the LP who cannot function as in the past

The efforts of the right in the Labour government are aimed to delay the functioning of the National Enterprise Board, prevent trade union intervention over the use of state funds, siphon funds through the usual banking channels and above all delay measures of nationalisation. Support for co-operatives is another way of containing the process. But whatever the manoeuvres, state intervention becomes more and more inevitable and even if in part such intervention is used to prevent total nationalisation, the prostration of private business and the recourse to state funds continually destroys the pretentions of capitalism, and multiplies its social weakness.

It is fundamental that the trade unions and the left in the LP intervene with all their force in this total crisis. The present experience of world history shows without any prevarication, that nationalisation and planning of the economy is the only solution to a situation where the capitalist system has shown conclusively that it can solve none of the problems facing humanity. Ethiopia is a classic case of a country maintained in total backwardness by the alliance of feudalism and Imperialism. In order to progress capitalism has to be jettisoned, the banks nationalised, agrarian reform proposed. Venezuela nationalises oil and now iron. Backward and impoverished Dahomey proclaims advance to socialism under the banner of Marxism and Leninism. In the centres of capitalist power, whatever the existing infra structure, whatever the size of large bourgeois strata of the population, the system has also shown conclusively that it can only reach a certain level of functioning and then collapses and falls right back. The rich get richer, the poor get poorer, the system in incapable of investment. All the line of the process is class against class. Capitalism does not even pretend otherwise — the workers must accept wage reductions, that is the line, nothing else.

BRITISH IMPERIALISM CANNOT RECOVER

The whole process in the world is determined by the preparation for the final settlement of accounts. The masses of the world and the Workers states intervene constantly to get rid of the barbaric and antiquated system of capitalism. All the vital energies of capitalism go into the massive production of atomic weapons even if this leads to generating further social conflicts. On the other hand before the actual collapse of the capitalist system, sectors of its apparatus begin to desert. In Portugal and Ethiopia actual armies of capitalism, the central organs of coercion of capitalism adopt the programme of socialism, Why don't the left in the LP and the trade union leaderships make resolutions and analysis on these events, draw conclusions? It is absurd to ignore events like this. Under the impact of the weight of the Soviet Union, the Egyptian Proletariat intervenes against Sadat because it wants socialism in Egypt and the end of Israeli imperialism. At the same time the communist army of Vietnam constantly weaken the regime of Thieu. All these are struggles of class against class, system against system. When there is a massive general strike in Nov 19 in Paris this is part of the struggle for power to overthrow D'Estaing's government and put in a government based on the Common Programme. This world process does not allow British Imperialism the opportunity to recover. Its immense dependance on the world market and world finance constantly undermines its structure whereas its earlier domination of the world market was a source of strength. It cannot recover. The left in the trade unions and in the LP have to assimilate the lessons of Ethiopia. They have to assimilate what was meant by the execution of the sixty top landowners, bosses and military men. Socialism is resisted and the process is one of civil war. British and world capitalism would like to settle for the Chilean solution in Britain but they cannot find the strength. This does not alter the fact that civil war is coming and in some respects has already begun whether it is with CIA organised explosions or the brutal military

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The organisation of the mind, Marxism, and revolutionary militancy.

J. POSADAS *8th MAY 1974*

(CONVERSATION WITH A COMRADE) J. POSADAS

The division into conscious, subconscious, unconscious, corresponds to the normal functioning of the brain in this stage of history. The functioning of the brain, of the entire organism, the structure of the brain comes from nature. But social life with its influence has given it certain forms which did not exist in origin. In establishing the divisions determined by social relations, modifications have been also introduced into the process of nature. Therefore, the human being who is a part of organised and conscious nature, incorporates nature and gives forms to the brain which are superior to those which nature by itself has been able to develop. This is the result of the social relations, and this has determined the division of the brain into three compartment, into three strata: conscious, subsconscious and unconscious.

The conscious related to daily constant life which requires action, the subconscious registers movements, thoughts, desires, forms which have to intervene and which are submitted to the judgement of society, friends, family, mother, child. They are submitted to the relationship with society and need a certain caution before being expressed, because there is a fear of clashing or producing harmful effects, or being harmed. The unconscious registers desires, sentiments, will and thoughts, not only desires to be censured or unhealthy desires, but the thought which is still not animated to develop, and the unconscious maintains them because they express the desires of the individual which — through the life we lead — cannot have the full consciousness of itself. Marxism, the workers movement, the revolution, provides this consciousness.

Thus, three compartments are formed, one of which exercises the function of repression, of containing, of selection, to prevent clashes with people, in actions of immorality, deceit, or fraud, but also to organise just, logical, necessary, scientific thought which does not have to be repressed. It depends on what is organising the mind.

The organisation of the mind is determined by the social relations. One of the essential conditions for this is the fear of being judged, condemned, repressed. This forms in the mind a selector which contains and does not let thoughts develop freely, but selects ideas so that they do not clash with society. The unconscious organises and sustains desires which it does not succeed in expressing because it is afraid to clash with society, because it fears the confrontation with the judgement of public opinion. But also the revolutionary makes of the unconscious a source, a constant deposit of ideas which, afterwards, can be elaborated; nothing to be repressed but a source of ideas which can be elaborated. That is to say already in the revolutionary the functioning of the brain undergoes alteration so it is no longer submitted to capitalist relations, but to revolutionary scientific need. It has nothing to repress, it is a question of organising. In socialism this will be complete, meanwhile it is like this.

For example, one of the most powerful repressions is sex, robbery, stealing, deceit, infidelity. Bourgeois society condemns all this, but it is a lie

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Revolution in Ethiopia J. POSADAS 26.11.74.

[illegible] and Socialist parties, to obtain from capitalist countries to support [illegible] countries in Africa. It [illegible] to show that if they support [illegible] it is because the revolution is [illegible] it, for example, if Italy [illegible] give support. It is necessary [illegible] appeal to all the Workers [illegible] to support them. To have the [illegible] of the Workers States, of the workers' movement, of the Communist and Socialist parties, the left [illegible], the left Catholics, the left [illegible]. There must be a programme of the economic transformation of the country. Power was in a few hands, and this facilitates the first step towards more important economic measures. There it [illegible] shown also that it is possible to go from the tribe, to Socialism. As in South Yemen, Somalia, Dofar, as in Vietnam, China, which progress from feudalism to Socialism. They do not proceed through the stage of the bourgeois revolution but go directly to Socialism.

Now, certainly they do not have the strength in Ethiopia, but neither do they have it in Dofar or South Yemen. They do not have the strength nor the social or economic conditions to advance from the tribe to Socialism, the strength is world-wide.

It is necessary to nationalise, to make a plan of production, to call meetings with the peasants and to give to them the perspective of economic development to resolve the problem of the economy, of all the peasants. It is necessary to show that the development in an individual form is difficult, that it cannot be done, that it is necessary to do it in a collective form; that what they would seek to achieve in the individual form of property, they can achieve in doing in a collective form with the support of the State, and appealing to all the Workers States for support. It is necessary to show the need for planning by means of planification, so that the peasants have, to take measures which lead to the satisfaction of the needs of all the population, collective planning combined with the support of the small proprietors, of small farms, and to expect for a combination of the collectivised production, or for Socialist Cooperatives to develop production.

And an important and fundamental aspect is that all the population should participate, all the peasants, and that they participate, see and feel that this is the way. It is necessary to see that the functional [illegible] the regime is changed from top to bottom, that wages should be changed according to needs and that [illegible] should be a maximum [illegible].

A campaign should be organised—though immediately it is not going to succeed—to win the soldiers over to this function, and to associate [illegible] the students who are one of the essential factors of this movement. All the students should intervene, it was they who demanded that the soldiers should be eliminated and killed and they should agree with this programme. Such a programme of production should be done in a combination of workers, students, peasants. All the people should discuss a plan of increase production, to finish with drought and hunger. The forms and the building of the State should be very modest and should be open to the control of the population, so that the masses who intervene in democratic form, should be able to control, decide and prevent the formation of cliques, and deal with the question of wages, of production, of planning, so that it should be under complete discussion and everything should be discussed to produce in accordance with the needs of the population and exports. This is not like the Russian revolution, which encountered the world retreat of the revolution, here, Ethiopia finds the world in progress. It is necessary to be based on this, on a perspective of development and of very rapid world-support, because the process is advancing. It is imperialism which does not have the strength to prevent the triumph of the revolution in Ethiopia because of the world instability of the capitalist system.

The world crisis forces them to have a constant preoccupation through their economic and social crisis. There is a very great inter-capitalist competition and internal struggle. They have all manner of monetary and other crises. Thus, it is necessary to make the masses and the military leadership feel that they can support themselves on this favourable process.

It is necessary to construct immediately a revolutionary leadership with a programme, which seeks the development of the economy in a centralised and planned form, so that they carry out agrarian reforms, distribute the land to peasants' sectors, and so that they expropriate and plan the big landed estates, and make them produce in a collective and nationalised form. It is necessary to make a federation with Eritrea, posing the necessity for nationalisation and economic planning, with Somalia, South Yemen, and the other countries of Africa. It should be shown that the right to independence is not with the object of increasing the historic difficulties with the formation of new states, otherwise it would be to maintain a series of attitudes which are still of the past in relation to the right to independence. It is necessary to propose that all these countries are developed and for this, it is necessary to plan the economy, maintaining the ethnic differences which there are,—they are not many—in the same way as we pose with the Jews and Palestinians.

ORGANISE THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY WITH THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME

It is necessary to form a revolutionary Party with the programme for the development of the country, to open discussion throughout the country, to show that to develop the economy, to finish with drought, to develop agricultural production and to establish factories, it is necessary to act like the Workers States. Pose the example of Hungary, which was very backward, of the USSR and China, which had nothing, and today China is one of the most advanced countries in the world! And China, has only 26 years of being a Workers State! It is necessary to make a campaign to overcome illiteracy and to discuss all these problems.

It is necessary to discuss that democracy is not an abstraction, but that is a means and a form of relation, and that democracy is needed which allows the development of the country. It is not a democracy which allows formally someone to say who he is voting for, or who can order him about or arrest him, but a democracy which allows all the population to intervene in all the problems of the economy to develop production on the basis of the needs of the population not to see who gets the most. It is necessary to show that this is what is to be done and that imperialism was defeated because people wanted to make an economy which corresponds to the needs of the population.

The attitude of the soldiers is very important. Their resolved attitude is not through a problem of competition, of military conflict, because if it is, they would respect the others so that tomorrow they would not kill them. When they kill all of them, it is because they want something infinitely superior. They are impelled by the world revolution, and the comrades of Ethiopia have to base themselves on this. We salute and embrace all the students who have been a factor of progress in all this, have been transporters of revolutionary ideas, of the revolutionary decision and will to impel the revolutionary struggle in Ethiopia. Now, they have to intervene and it is necessary to organise the revolutionary Party with the programme of nationalisations, state intervention, planning of the economy and complete democracy, for all the masses, formation of peasant trade unions, nationalisation of the more important land, distribution of the land to certain sectors of the peasantry and form cooperatives, resolution of the problem of production, of water, of the problem of the transformation of raw materials and to ask for aid from all the Workers States. A monthly wage from all the Workers States to help Ethiopia, and all the revolutions, plus Sino-Soviet unification. It is necessary that they demand Sino-Soviet unification which is the essential problem for the progress of humanity.

These soldiers are intervening in the resolution of a discussion, on the conclusions of the transitory defeat of the revolution in Chile, and in their turn, are an expression of the world force of the revolution, the two aspects. Therefore it is necessary to take the example of Ethiopia to generalise it, and immediately in a country so backward to be quite clear about what economic measures to take. Ethiopia is very backward and has to take measures which are quite primitive although this is not the epoch of primitive measures. Meanwhile, it is necessary to appeal to the Workers States to intervene so that they send machinery, technicians, money, food and plan the economy.

The attitude of the Chinese is the opposite, that is every country is supposed to advance by itself. It is not a question of a problem of competition between one country and another, as with the capitalist country, but of the help of the more developed to impel the development of all and to suppress the historic backwardness, to suppress war, unemployment, misery, hunger, everything which is produced by the capitalist regime. It is a contribution to the world development of the revolution, and the experience of the masses to intervene in the revolution. At the same time, it is the confirmation of the conception of the permanent revolution of the Trotskyists and the Posadists. In the most backward places, it is possible to make the revolution with the most advanced objectives, because these base themselves on the world process which prevents capitalism from intervening or containing. And this revolution should be based on the most advanced experiences so that it takes the economic and social measures, the most relevant examples to develop the economy.

The triumph of the Ethiopian soldiers is going to impel enormously the peasants in the revolution, towards measures which lead to the progress of the revolution. At the same time, they disintegrate all the schemes and the strategy of imperialism. They are the direct and indirect allies of the Workers States. It is necessary to consider then, that for the triumph of Ethiopia, the existence and armed strength of the Workers States is decisive. The existence of Sth. Yemen, Somalia, Dofar, the former Portuguese colonies, show that they are part of the world process favourable to the revolution. All these relations of forces which are favourable are to be counted upon for the development of the revolution, and the development is going to be made on this basis.

Capitalism and imperialism are going to intervene but they do not have the strength to say when and how. The liberation of the Portuguese colonies has a great importance for this struggle, it stimulates enormously the attitude of the Ethiopian captains, it stimulated them to make a revolutionary intervention. The liberation of the Portuguese colonies is a combination of mass movements for the liberation of the colonies and the captains of Portugal. The relation of forces is more and more favourable and more and more united to the development of the revolution. The Communists and the Socialists must consider this for the development of the United Front. There is a real world United Front which exists. It shows the conditions of maturity of the masses of the world, of the captains, of the soldiers, to make the United Front on the basis of which they are maturing on the measures to take and on the understanding of the socialist resolutions. Today, it is easy. People see that the solution is social, and through their experience in the economy, that human relations to develop have to be Socialist. The Communists and the Socialists have to discuss, to deepen this conclusion. Humanity is ready for Communism, and consequently, ready for the World United Front.

J. POSADAS

The organisation...

continued from page 1

because they all do it. But this is the relationship that exists and therefore the individual contains and represses in his mind these activities and the mind is vigilant to see that these don't emerge. But suddenly this attitude can escape when the concentration of the desire is more powerful than the mental container, and it emerges. This is when people say: "He made a gaff, he committed an error". This is capitalist society because it has to repress relations which it encourages which are gross, impure and corrupt.

As we do not live this life, we do not need to have the division in the brain submitted to fear and inhibition, but subordinate to the need to organise the mind so that it gives us ideas: To feed the mind so that it organises and lives; instead of repressing, to stimulate. Hence we can make at any moment an exposition of a few hours, without a guide, without notes, an intervention of some hours which is very good, which is not a commentary, statistics and information, but analyses, analyses, analyses. This is the form in which we organise the mind which tomorrow will be infinitely superior than now. This is a guide to what we are doing in social relations now. We have nothing to repress, we explain. It is not a question of repressing anything, but of explaining, explaining, explaining. If there comes about a desire which is unjust or incorrect, or inconvenient let it come, and explain it to yourself. Don't just take hold of it, conceal it, or close your eyes to it, no, open them, put on the lights within and without. Then explain it, and if it is possible realise the intention if it does not clash with the objective necessity, with science, with moral relations, with the objective conclusion, discussing it. If not, if it clashes with this and is against, say: "No, this cannot be done.", and explain. Therefore in the mind the desire does not just remain deposited, an unconscious sensation, originating from the sensations produced by capitalist life. Life in this society penetrates shelters itself in the unconscious, and afterwards is sustained by means of sensations. Thus, you explain it, "No, this cannot be done", and discuss it as if you were discussing it with us. It is a very beautiful discussion without external words, but within, there is a very beautiful dialogue. Therefore, dominate and organise the mind so that it responds to what is necessary, so that it does not feel obliged to lie, to deceive, to deviate, but that it works with purity. Thus, the unconscious and the subconscious constantly provide suitable ready, scientific material for all what we are doing, without any problems.

I return to insist, it is because of this we can make a meeting, a comrade comes, gives a report and we speak eight hours, and produce three texts, because the head is organised for this, it has nothing to repress, it has nothing to conceal. Although there may be things which cannot be said, they are not immoral repressions, but simply one cannot pose such and such in

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The E.C.M., and the unity of the european workers movement

The statement by Benn that "there are no conditions under which Britain could stay in the Common Market is an expression not of the force and decision of Benn but of the struggle inside the Labour Party. If Benn makes this statement it is because he feels this pressure and feels that he has a base of support in the Labour Party. It is important because the question of the common market is not one of a balance of advantages in the form of prices, or employment outside the EEC but one of the survival of the capitalist system. The common market represents the attempt of capitalism to survive by concentrating itself, by concentrating capital in the face of the advance of the Workers States, and world revolution and the struggle of the European masses; and it is a complete failure. It is a failure because the concentration of capitalism, of its investment in Europe-forced on capitalism, particularly Yankee capitalism by the loss of investments in Africa, Asia and Latin America — means an enormous increase in intercapitalist competition. Thus the 'nine' are unable to agree on anything. Countries like Germany and Britain who have highly mechanised agriculture cannot agree with countries like France, Italy and Holland who depend much more on agriculture than industry and have large peasant populations. At the same time the increase in competition destroys the smaller and weaker enterprises and further erodes what little social base of support capitalism has retained. Thus more and more layers of the population are won to the struggle of the proletariat, are attracted to the proletariat as a leadership in society and this is shown in the attitude of the police in Italy who have proposed that they should be a force to help the population and not to repress it. Equally in France the demonstration of the police in Paris included sectors of the CRS which is an elite force used primarily for the repression of the population and this was the role it played during the revolutionary general strike of May '68. The army in France is in a state of revolt with sectors demanding full democratic rights and calling for support from the workers movement. It is the same with the peasants — in France and Italy in particular where they have a great weight — who have mobilised on a European scale in anti-capitalist demonstrations and who develop links with the proletariat.

Regardless of what Benn says the struggle against the Common Market is not a struggle in defence of 'parliamentary democracy!' The bourgeoisie have demonstrated in this country and on a world scale that they are only interested in parliamentary democracy when it serves their interests; are the lessons of Chile so easily forgotten? The repression and terrorism in Northern Ireland, the jailing of the 'Shrewsbury 2', and the bombings organised by British imperialism in this country have nothing to do with 'parliamentary democracy' — they are preparations for civil war against the masses. At the same time the struggle of the working class which is what impels the struggle against the common market and which is the pressure exerted — mainly through the trade unions — on the Labour Party is not to defend 'national sovereignty'. The working class struggles for power and in opposing the common market seeks to link itself with the working class in Europe. To talk of the defence of parliament is to try to contain the anti-capitalist struggle of the working class. There are elements of the bourgeoisie who, for their own sectional interests, are against the EEC; Enoch Powell for example!

There cannot be a struggle against the Common Market in abstract. What has to be discussed is not 'out of Europe' but 'what sort of Europe'. The struggle against the common market, the campaign around the referendum — which is not the best method of struggle but can be used and, whatever, it is a victory which the Labour Left has imposed — has to be based on a programme of anti-capitalist demands with the perspective of a Socialist Europe. The working class has already demonstrated through its trade union actions, through the Dunlop/Pirelli strike, through the links between the Ford workers in Britain, Belgium and Germany, through the actions of solidarity of miners and dockers, though its actions of solidarity with the workers of Spain and Greece that it seeks a common solution to the problem of the dictatorship of the 'multi-nationals' with the workers in Europe. This is what the left of the Labour Party and the trade union have to base themselves on in the fight against the EEC.

In conditions where capital is concentrated — in the form of the 'multi-nationals' — and where, at the same time, "all Europe goes to the left", to try to confine the struggle to this country serves nobody's interest but that of the bourgeoisie. The class struggle is not determined by the boundaries of this country! The trade union links with the workers of Europe are important but they have to be seen as a bridge to a much more organic link with the Workers Parties, with the Communist and Socialist Parties. Under the pressure of the struggle of the working class and the total crisis of capital both the French and Italian Communist Parties are preparing for a struggle for power. It is true that it still takes the form of a parliamentary perspective, of going to the government electorally but it also has the perspective of finishing with capitalism. Fundamentally this has been determined by the struggle of teh class, by the imposition of dual power in Italy with the trade unions deciding the price of electricity and the fares on public transport and with the agreement imposed on Fiat. The workers of Fiat have imposed on the company a years guaranteed wage, that all questions of investment, production and work methods are discussed with the trade unions. At the same time the French working class have mobilised in the General Strike of November 19th.

Above all there is the unification of workers parties expressed in the 'Popular Union' of the Communist, Socialist and left Radical Parties and the growing unification of the Communist Movement in which the Communist Parties in a series of meetings — in Brussels, Lyon and, recently, in a conference on the problems of women in Rome — are beginning to formulate a common strategy and programme for the anti-capitalist struggle in Europe. The left of the Labour Party and Trade Unions have to base themselves on this process as a fundamental point of support in the struggle for power in this country. Understanding also that the bourgeoisie prepares for repression, for the civil war and that NATO is an instrument which — together with elements of the British army — it is going to use. The struggle against the EEC is also a struggle against NATO! The demand, then, which has to form a centre of the programme of the left is for the end of the EEC, for the end of NATO and for a conference of the European trade unions and Workers Parties to discuss and formulate a common programme and strategy.

It is a general phenomena that in the absence of a decisive lead from the Workers Parties the trade unions tend — because they are more sensitive to the struggle and demand of the working class — to substitute for them. This is an important aspect of the conference in London — last December — of delegates from the engineering unions on a world scale to discuss the problems of the car industry. It was a limited conference in the sense that it did not allow a full intervention of the working class but, nonetheless, it was an attempt formulate some kind of common programme of demands and action for the workers in that industry; and what proposals and interventions there were had basically an anti-capitalist character. The other significant aspect was that it included delegations from the trade unions of the Workers States which means a step towards the unity of the workers movement centralised around the Socialist Parties (and the Labour Party in this country) with the World Communist Movement and the Workers States.

The World Trade Union Conference is also an expression of the fact that the Soviet Union and the other Workers States seek the means to intervene in support of the anti-capitalist struggle. This fact, together with the existence of a development towards unification on the part of the World Communist Movement, and the growing unity of the world trade union movement means that the conditions are ready for the unification of the workers movement on a European scale. This is what has to be discussed by the Labour and trade union left, in the factories and the workers areas. The referendum can be used as a means to do this but it is necessary not to wait for it. It is necessary now to stimulate a whole process of discussion, of meetings in the factories and of links between the workers organisms — shop stewards etc. — in this country and in the rest of Europe; on the basis of a programme for a sliding scale of wages (all wages to rise with the cost of living) and hours (work sharing without loss of pay) but recognising that these important demands are, in themselves insufficient to answer the total crisis of capitalism. The essential elements of the programme have to be for the nationalisation of all major industry, the land, banks and insurance under workers control and without compensation, for a single trade union centre in Europe including the Trade Unions of the Workers States; for an end to the Common market and NATO, for full Trade Union and Democratic rights in the army and police, and for a United, Socialist, Soviet States of Europe.

Editorial

PREPARE THE ORGANS OF DUAL POWER

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regime in N. Ireland or the appeals for private armies to deal with law and order.

In such a situation the struggle and the discussion cannot be conducted on the level of piecemeal reforms and trade union demands. There is no perspective there. All the disputes, all the main strikes have to be accompanied by the programme for the complete transformation of the economy, nationalisations, planning, workers control, mass organs of dual power in the factories and the workers districts. The Manifesto of th Labour party is just an introduction to a complete comprehensive programme of a social transformation, and is already bypassed by events. When the trade unions call a mass lobby to win the freedom of the two trade union militants imprisoned by the arbitrary laws of the bourgeoisie, it should be accompanied by the programme to maintain full employment, to prevent the closure of factories, the programme to nationalise, to open the books, for workers plans of production, for permanent assemblies in the factories and the worker districts to discuss all the problems of the economy and the running of the economy; to do otherwise is to run away from the central problem, the need to finish with the system. The lobby should be accompanied by stoppages and mass meetings, discussing and reiterating the demand for nationalisations and workers control.

British Imperialism enters the next stage with world capitalism in a state of growing defeatism. The forces of coercion cannot be relied upon to carry out the tasks of the counter revolution. A recent advertisement for officers in the Guardian posed a completely defeatist perspective — NATO and the defence of Empire were meaningless and the main task was to defend the constitution against subversion. And what does the leadership of the French army now say? That in a new 1968, the French army could no longer be regarded as reliable . . .No, they are all falling to pieces, the most they can spew out against progress are gangster types, brainless assassins in the service of the CIA. That is why they all fear the continuation of the present Labour government, they fear the possibilities of a more fluid line of Labour Party in relation to N. Ireland which could undermine the fascist set up there. They fear the pressures under which Wilson tries to survive. The brains of capitalism are all addled by their preoccupation with accumulating property and capital. No wonder their paralysis increases, their whole system is like a prolonged nervous spasm turning into paroxysm and finally death.

Cleary the organs of the class, the Labour Party and the trade unions are not sufficiently prepared for the historic tasks of this moment. The fact that the Labour Party could be used by such a mediocre, banal careerist like Stonehouse is a sign of the wholesale reconstruction necessary in the Labour party. A great deal of rubbish lies around in the Labour Party and the unions, people are there whose sole interest in life is to use these class organs for their own personal advantage. A wholesale purging is historically necessary, but the rigidity of the structure cannot be eliminated overnight, what can be done is the forces of the Left to take all possible initiative to develop discussion of marxism in the Labour Party and the Unions, impose a discussion of the programme for socialism and base themselves on the factories with meetings and conferences. The working class are going to weigh in all this, their pressure will grow and this will facilitate the development of an organised Left in the Labour Party closely linked with the trade unions. At the same time this Left has to use the programme of nationalisations linked with workers control to mobilise the masses and paralyse the forces of the right. All the experiences of UCS, Dowty Seals, have to be generalised to develop a permanent organisation of the masses in the factories and the workers areas, so preparing to confront all the bourgeois state functioning, weakening it and preparing to meet the eventual civil war, expropriate the expropriators overpower capitalism and construct socialism.

In Red Flag, no 232, (Nov 26) in the main article, second paragraph, a sentence begins "As they have not been able to launch the atomic war, because they would not lose it, the second not destroys the sense. Imperialism will lose the atomic war hence their fear of launching it.

The organisation...

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that moment, because it is not convenient for the organisation. Therefore, your head is tranquil, it does not alter in any way the opinion, the functioning, the mobilisation of the thought.

This division of the brain, into the conscious, the subconscious, and the unconscious, is determined by the relationship with society, and of this, with property. The basis of property determined all the relationships of life, including the organisation of the brain, because it is organised in the life of society, and the organisation of the economy. The formation of the brain into three compartments is the direct result of the relations of private property, which includes relations which are pernicious. Lying, deceit, fraud, swindling, mystification, conceit, vanity, all these are the consequences of the life of private property. When the objective course of having to live with lies disappears, living with deceit, fraud, conceit, then its reflection in the mind disappears, and the brain is re-structured. We are doing this now, therefore, our functioning now, corresponds to, tomorrow, to the Communist thought, or the thought of Lenin, the Bolsheviks, the thoughts of Marx, Engels, and Trotsky.

Our head was organised by the relations of private property, which determined for example, that it had to lie. Commerce, is lie, deception, mystification and fraud, the head is organised for this. Hence there is a very great distance between consciousness and existence. Marxism establishes unity, because it allows one to work consciously on nature, on the economy, on human beings, whilst the commercial interests leave a void in the consciousness, it is not occupied with others, it determines that each one does what he wants in the empirical life of private property. Then this void, is filled therefore, with a series of subterfuges of the capitalist regime. This is capitalist philosophy. Our mind is the product of this, it was formed in the life of the society of private property.

The life of the Party demands and leads to the elimination of this form of functioning of the brain, and leads to the purity of the brain, so that it thinks objectively. In thinking objectively, it thinks around the necessity of Communism in all that is necessary, determined by the impulse, the relations, the progress of Communism. But as we have the mind organised by the previous life, thus, there is an interpenetration in which the need to open the way to Communism wins, and we prepare now the mind for tomorrow. There is not going to be an instantaneous effect, but there is going to be a gradual progress of the sectors, the layers, who pull along and influence, whilst the rest advances a little more slowly until the general progress is homogeneised in the general progress in the later stages of life.

J. Posadas 8th May 1974.

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The defeat of reaction..

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sands of trips and meetings.

Any superior social regime disintegrates the others. This is expressed with such a concentrated and permanent force, that the social superiority of the Workers State allows at the same time as their own development, the affirmation of the historic superiority of the working class. This disintegrates the capitalist system. The capitalist system has to take events like these in Switzerland, Holland, Latin America, or those in Italy, France and Britain, which correspond to a structure which no longer answers strictly the needs of the capitalist system. This shows the historic superiority of the Workers States.

The preparation of the atomic war presents many difficulties for capitalism, since it has to prepare a war against a superior social regime which influences its own army. Capitalism fears war in which they do not have the security that the army will respond. As the Workers States have a superior regime, the forces that come to fight them are already won over. If in the preceding war the Workers States did not rise up against Stalin, and if, on the contrary the masses united around the Soviet government, even with Stalin against capitalism, now the soldiers of the capitalist army unite with the Workers States because they see that they are a superior society. And even if there is not a direct communication, it is the language and the common consciousness, the normal and historic consciousness of the class struggle which influences them.

Hence, all the crises of capitalism are agonised. Capitalism is pessimistic and they all say: "The Communists are going towards power, the Communists will conquer, what a disaster!" Now, they are seeking new political analysts to see what they can do to interpret all this. But they do not have them. It is not a question of someone who can think or act, but they do not find and they do not have the means to do it. They do not have historic justification. They do not have an economic base, and they do not have the means because they do not have historic justification. They do not have a social base and they do not have a perspective, consequently they do not have political capacity, social capacity and not even military capacity. Now, when they should be all united against the Workers States, they are all divided. On all the crises of the capitalist countries, the fact that they cannot respond with the war, already weighs in a very important way–above all on the petit bourgeoisie. This disintegrates the notion of what they call "political science". Of all the people whom they send to study to make them leaders or ministers, no one remains, they go elsewhere. This means that the process is incomprehensible to them. They are shattered and this confuses their minds. They are shattered. They cannot understand and they have not got the courage to understand. They did not expect this course, neither could they exploit it.

All the countries of Europe are in crisis: Germany, Italy, France, Belgium, Britain, Switzerland. In Switzerland there is a crisis of the right. The "No" of the referendum, was a vote against the right, and besides, an affirmation of people who vote without direct interest. It was a vote following the Manifesto: "Don't vote for a bad national action." There is a concentration of people who seek to reason and this is the influence of the working class. This means conditions in which the masses of the world must be and are based, that the world course of the class struggle, favours at every instant the unification of the masses. The rejection of the reaction is not only a rejection over a problem of work and emigration, but it is a political conclusion. The people who voted for this are conscious that it is a political conclusion. Like those who voted for the "No" in the referendum in Italy, the votes for a political conclusion. It is not a vote apart, separated from later political conclusions, it comes from the crisis existing now.

Together with this there were all the other resolutions, the organisation of the police trade unions in Belgium, the campaign for the organisation of the police trade unions in Italy, the coming and inevitable fall of fascism in Spain and the development of the Popular Union in France. It is a whole process of advancing, not a particular event, and it is in this light that it is necessary to consider the result of the elections in Switzerland. The essential basis of all this is not only a question of Switzerland but of the world. It is the general advances of the struggles and progress of the masses of Europe who have defeated fascism in Italy and above all in Portugal, in Greece, and the struggle of the masses throughout the world including in Algeria and Latin America, which has stimulated influences and weigh on the consciousness, on the will of the Swiss masses. Hence this United Front with the immigrant workers.

This stabilises bases to intervene, because the course of the process isn't uniform. It has never been and in this case much more because, there is a very great disproportion between the aspirations of the masses, the will and the decision of the vanguard, and the absence of a positive reply on the part of the leaderships, in front of the crisis of the capitalist system, and the necessity and the desire that the masses express to take power.

J. Posadas 21.10.74

The relation between beauty, love, death, and the construction of communism.

J. POSADAS

12TH JUNE 1974

The process of the construction of Communism does not begin with the taking of power, it begins before. The construction of Communism means social bases, scientific bases which include human relations. Certainly economic, social and scientific relations need power to materialise, organise and lead them. This determines the course of the association of the relations of the population. But in human relations this is not the case; changes can be made without taking power because they are problems of ideas, of understanding. And the ideas, the understanding, the feeling advance much quicker than the economy, the regime of property, of distribution and economic relations.

Before taking power and in taking power, the Workers State is constructed; it must advance in social relations, as in economic and social relations. But essentially and substantially in social relations which are the construction of the feelings, of the effects, the relation of love and fraternity. In capitalism this has been developed through human necessity, human relations, but perverted, determined by the interest of accumulation, of capitalist exploitation, of capital, commerce, which determine the forms of this development of sentiment.

They are problems which require preoccupation. They are not problems in which one has to be involved afterwards, but now. It is necessary to establish the bases which afterwards allow experiences and then improvement. For example the capitalist system developed the concept of love and beauty in accordance with relations of interest, while the concepts of beauty and love are the most elevated expressions of human relations. But on what basis? The conception of love in capitalism is the sexual relation. This is false. The sexual relation is legitimate but it forms part of the sentiment of human procreation otherwise no, otherwise it is an egoist relation, conservative, which afterwards determines all the problems which private property has created.

Capitalism established beauty on the basis of form, colour, combination, the effects which they produce in the consciousness, the sight, the sentiments. But almost all the feeling of beauty which capitalism creates is based on corporal beauty having a direct relationship with sex or sensual beauty. On the other hand beauty must be everything which promotes ideas, sentiments, objective human relations, which determines the progress of humanity, the pure, elevated relations of humanity. This is beauty. Lenin was the most beautiful human being in the world. The Bolsheviks were the most beautiful human beings in the world because they communicate, develop the most pure ideas, the most beautiful ideas which allowed them to see the world as beautiful, not the world as an enemy; which allowed them to love nature not as a dispute with nature. Hence the sentiment of beauty, of love, advances. Beauty is the creation of the human being. It is not a creation of nature. It is the human being which determines what is beautiful. Until now beauty has been evaluated through form, the figure, the face, the skin, the body, because it is united to sensual interest and inclination. When this inclination disappears–which is already on the way–the quality will be intelligence, the capacity for human love, human relations. And there will be no difference between loving a child and loving a woman, to love a child or to love a man. What difference is there going to be? The differences that have been established are the result of social relations.

What is going to determine the future is intelligence, capacity to persuade, to organise, to construct, to give strength. This is what is going to determine. The form of the face does not matter, what is important is the function of the human being, the same with nature. Today it is different because it is based on sensuality and commercial interest in which sensuality is included. But in the Workers States now this must not be the case.

The union of the couple must be determined by the revolutionary will, sentiment and consciousness. It is the more elevated form of beauty. Lenin was the most beautiful person in the world, since it is he who after Marx and Engels was dedicated to the essential problems of humanity. How not to see that this is beautiful! There is not a rose or a flower more beautiful than Lenin that awakens more beautiful sentiments than Lenin, and also the Bolsheviks. This is the most beautiful experience. It is the consciousness of the historic function which they have played. The rest is beauty in form originating with the capitalist regime. Form and content exists for this. Lenin is form and content. In capitalism it is only form, what content?

Lenin is the form and content who was concerned with the human being to impel the human being, not an aspect which is egoism, sex, the economy. Lenin is for us the most beautiful human being who awakened the most beautiful sentiment, the most noble sentiment.

Flowers are lovely because they approximate to our sentiments, not because the flower is lovely. What quality has the flower to be lovely? We give this quality to the flower, it is not nature which says, "This is lovely, this is ugly . . ." A series of sensations respond to the sentiments in construction of humanity. And the more it defines itself, the more humanity associates nature with itself. And tomorrow we are going to persuade nature. Tomorrow, nature is going to produce petals which scatter a fragrance which envelops everything, all the intention of people. The fragrance of flowers will represent the intention of Communism. Fragrance and Communism will be the same. Not much is necessary for this. Hence flowers exist as a symbol of the unity of the human being, for example the flowers which they put on the graves of the dead, which are a symbol of unity: they want to maintain the unity with the dead. It is the human being who refuses to disappear or who struggles not to disappear. Hence they present flowers, with this they try to maintain unity with death, not feeling abandoned or without strength in front of nature.

They are all problems which humanity is already living through. When we pose them it is because they are already being lived. In one way or another suggestions, hints, indicate that they are discussing and that there is a concern with these problems. When there is a concern with these problems, it is because humanity is certain that Communism is only a problem of time. It is not discussing whether it is going to reach it or not. Hence the problem of tactics does not now affect us. Humanity is already unified in that it has to finish with capitalism. Now it has conquered, now it has won the petit bourgeoisie and a sector of the bourgeoisie is immobilised. It is necessary to finish with all this ignominy. It is absurd to have to kill another to eat. It is horrible. The war wakens sentiments of nausea, why the war? For what? But before finishing with capitalism there is the nausea against war, and nausea means that if we could avoid the war, we would do it. As we cannot impede it, it is necessary to kill, to overthrow capitalism. This is the conclusion of the dialectical materialist consciousness.

In the Communist parties all this is not discussed. Hence our function. It is not an attitude of persistence but a dynamic activity and dialectically calculated. What is best for the future of humanity? What is best for this stage of history? This is the best. We discuss all this to provide security in the invincible necessity and authority of Communism. Now this exists in humanity. We are against death, and if it is necessary to pass through death in this stage, it is necessary to accept it. But we reiterate and maintain that death triumphs because still humanity has not found the means to overcome in a natural form, the waste which the process of ageing produces. But on the other hand socially humanity begins to conquer death.

Everything begins in the mind. Thus as centuries were necessary for advance from the Greeks to Marx, the conquering of death will be a much shorter problem. Two of the essential problems in the future will be: to conquer death and to discover what lies beyond the earth. Then, we will be able to answer the question: "From where have we come, where are we going, and meanwhile what should we do?"

The human mind has already conceived that death can be conquered. Until now the human being has not been occupied with the problem of death, and took death as a natural consequence of nature. But we can prolong existence in a very elevated way, and tomorrow in an indefinite form. If everything can be transformed, we also, but why do we have to transform ourselves into something else? Why cannot we reproduce ourselves maintaining the present forms and improving them in such a way that there are no changes? Or that there might be internal transformations and changes which lead to improvements and not exhaustion. The human being is the product of a whole empirical development with nature. Hence when we have the consciousness, humanity will act to transform itself. Humanity is invincible because it does not propose anything foreign to well-being, to human happiness and to the happiness of the whole cosmos.

These concerns were those of Lenin, Marx, Trotsky, but they could not be preoccupied with these problems, because they had to be concerned with making certain that Communism was necessary, and they had to dedicate time to this. But now, it can be seen that Communism is necessary, and hence, we can be concerned with these things. All the feeling of egotism which private property developed is going to disappear, and there is not going to be any fear of death. The human being is going to be concerned to prolong life, not to exploit nature, or to defend the conservative or egotistic interests, and it will find it stupid to die. Once humanity has succeeded in conquering the feeling of death, scientific means and a greater dominion of nature are going to allow the solution to these problems.

Today, nature is still more powerful than the human being (as regards death). Conquering the individual fear of death and starting the social confrontation with death, only gives it the historic security to concentrate the attention, the concern, therefore, to seek the prolongation of life, as a means to extend it. And this is possible.

Before, all these problems could not be posed, but today, yes, just as we pose the problem of the woman, of the couple. The liberation of the woman, will not come as a product of a cultural understanding of man but of a natural, necessary demand of society, which is the advance of the economy, of productivity, the rebellion of the productive and producing forces and the advance of science and technology. This poses the historic conditions for the incorporation of woman. And capitalism is not able to do this, because it uses woman as a commodity. The only force which can do this, is the Workers States which have no interest in woman as a commodity. This is very simple and is soon going to happen.

In turning our attention to these problems, we show the security of Communism and the security that our function is necessary. Hence we were concerned with these problems, and the Bolsheviks valued the thoughts of Lenin because they saw that the world came from there. Hence people saw feminine or masculine beauty in accordance not with the conception of capitalism, not in accordance with sensuality but seeing their function in history. In paying attention to this, we do it because it is necessary to discuss these problems, problems of the relation of now, or tomorrow and the past, problems of woman, of the forms of relations of the human couple, which is one of the essential bases of the power of the human being, in so far as the couple continues. Thus, today, the human being is weak, with a series of perturbations, of fears, united through the link with sexual need. When there is a liberation from this, there will be an immense power, everything will have an explanation including death. We discussed these problems, not only as a cultural discussion but as a discussion on the organisation of life through the revolutionary cultural knowledge of these problems, among them the function of women. This has to be taken as part of the organisation of our security, our confidence in the struggle in Communism and our function as Trotskyist/Posadists. It is not only a discussion to resolve immediate problems, but of a much more profound knowledge which gives security in our function, in our intervention, in the objectives of Socialism and in the confidence in Communism. These problems have not been resolved because the leaderships do not correspond to this need, but the progress of history obliges them to resolve these problems.

J. Posadas

12.6.74

Editorial

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Leyland, and the rest of the car and car component industry under workers' control and without compensation; and to base themselves on the mobilisations of the workers. There has to be the consciousness in the left that the problem of the car industry cannot be dealt with in isolation from the rest of the economy, from the overall planning of the economy. It is not enough to pump money into Leylands or even to continue to production of cars under nationalisation. As Cde. Posadas said regarding Italy, the economy "does not have to be submitted to four wheels". There is a necessity to discuss the nationalisation and planning of the whole economy, to develop industry for the benefit of the masses. This is the discussion which has now to be raised in the factories, linking the necessity of planning the economy with a vision of the process in Europe also because it isn't possible to solve the problems created by capitalism on the basis of this country alone. The left of the Labour Party has to campaign against the Common Market in the factories and workers' areas but on the basis of a socialist alternative, of links and discussions with all the European workers' movement.

The presence of Soviet delegates at the International Trade Union Conference in London, on the car industry is part of the intervention of the Soviet Workers State in support of the anti-capitalist struggle on a world scale. The left of the Labour Party and trade unions have to take full advantage of this, to base themselves on the historic superiority of a system based on a nationalised, planned economy; and on the fact that the Soviet Union is seeking to influence directly the working class in this country. We propose to the left in the Labour Party and trade unions, to transmit the discussion and conclusions from this Conference. to the working class in the form of meetings in the factories, starting with all those of BLMC; a series of meetings on the basis of a programme–no sackings, the occupations of the factories, nationalisation under workers' control and without compensation, the planning of the economy on the basis of the needs of the population, the construction of factory committees with all delegates subject to instant recall. At the same time there is also the necessity to use the links already made on a European scale by the workers of BLMC, of Fords, of Dunlops, etc to organise a European conference of Socialist Parties, Communist Parties and trade unions (including the Communist Parties and trade unions of the Workers States) to formulate a common programme and strategy for a Socialist Europe.

9.12.74

the strength of the revolution, and of feeling driven on by the Revolution—that's why they say Posadas, Posadas. That is the revolution, but at the same time the team's timidity in intervening. To forget "Epoca" is not forgetfulness but surviving historical timidity, for with it all there in the head, one must select the fundamental points and in them "Epoca". It is timidity, and that is knowing how to revolve one's understanding around the fundamental points. The lack of organised preparation results in timidity. Study more, learn more, above all, concentrate more. All the comrades' interventions are an excellent indication of great elevation still insufficient for what our historical responsibility demands, but the road we have covered so far is only a part of the way, the rest remains. Here we make ourselves ready to enter a new stage in history, and this historical stage consists in being an integral conscious and objective part of the masses, through the political revolution, but reaching the level of the Socialist proletarian revolution. We are not waiting for the proletarian revolution to follow on the political revolution, we intervene to impel the revolution throughout the world. The Italian proletariat is not going to wait for the triumph of the Cuban revolution, it has to go ahead with the revolution in Italy. Everything achieved there influences Cuba, therefore this discussion draws attention homogeneously to a single panorama, and on observation it can be seen that in this single panorama the particular activities, tasks and aims of each country stand out. This shows the importance of being precise, of knowing each country, and the influence which each country receives from the world: such as pinpointing in each country what is the essential centre, which is what interests us most in each country. The forces must not be scattered but concentrated and this is a concentration of forces. There is an immense concentration of forces. For the first time it happens that the majority of the delegates have paid their own fares and half their keep here. Also for the first time the sections have paid for the Latin American Marxist Review. This is not just an event, no, it is the concentration of the International's will. It couldn't have happened before. Before the comrades didn't quote a price and pay for the Review. Now they quote a price and pay for the Review. And for the first time in the history of the International we are covering the entire cost of the Marxist Review.

All the interventions have been very centralized with the International; it is a symptom of great elevation. They have all been very good. The comrades of the young European sections in their integration in the Congress have influenced and received the weight of the Congress. Comrades who were at the other Congress, joined with the comrades new in the International, taking part in this Congress like old comrades of ten years in the International. Comrade Ramirez says as a demonstration of the concentration of will, that there has not been a single incident. Not only that there has not been a single incident which we did not expect anyway, but there has been no expression of sorrow or complaint against the difficulties in which the Congress is developing.

The way to measure the concentration is the political attention. The comrades who have intervened for the first time in this Congress have gone along these last days very preoccupied by their intervention, preparing themselves to intervene. It was logical, it was the political preoccupation on how to intervene. There are various cadres, workers leaders here, from various countries, but not all those who could have come, have come.

Many sections have excellent and very important cadres, who occupy very important posts in the workers movement. The forces of the International are not all represented here, this is a part of the force of the International. This is a restricted Congress, very restricted, which has had to be selective, eliminating a number of comrades, because there was not the place to put them. Otherwise this Congress would have been held with many more delegates. I propose that—something which was not proposed at the beginning—as the delegates came here to this meeting, which then had the quality of a Conference, and they were not designated as delegates, that this Congress empowers each one present to represent his section as a delegate. The difference between the delegates designated by the sections and this Congress is simple, all the sections are going to understand. So that each comrade be a delegate before the Congress and represents his section.

April 67 **J. POSADAS**

Resolutions of the VIII World Congress of the IV International

On some problems of the Party:

The Militancy and the moral code of the Trotskyist must be based on the conception of Socialist Society

April 1967

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Adopted as a resolution

The construction of the International means the formation of organisms and the functioning of a team based on the programme of the IV International. The original programme of the IV International in 1938, the Transitional Programme was established in a period in which it was not possible to predict the course of this second epoch. The fundamentals of the programme of 1938 remain valid, the tasks change. The fundamentals remain the same, because they are based on forseeing the necessity of the two fundamental tasks of the Socialist Revolution: The Proletariat revolution, and the Political revolution.

But Trotsky was not able to foresee, did not possess the human genius capable of forseeing, the course, 26 years after, of a process in which the relations existing between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the masses of the countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America and the bourgeoisie and Imperialism, and between the masses of the world and the Soviet bureaucracy would be rapidly transformed. This constant transformation and change in class relations is the force that determines the course of activiy, programme and action. Trotsky was not able to forsee this but he forsaw the general course of history.

To construct cadres in this epoch is the most difficult task in all human history. It is not a course which objectively starts from a comprehension of the programme, but all the later course is determined by the point of departure. There is a complete change. The liquidation of so many groups, so many militants and so many groups is fundmental, because they have not been able, capable of preparing for history. They took the programme, put it forward and cried "Look, this is the programme of the revolution." And they did this honestly. They were not mad or bad characters, all including Pablo, Frank, and the rest of the capitulators. They were intellectuals attracted by the revolution, but they thought to serve humanity with the agitation for this programme. But history showed that it was necessary to interpret the course of history which was taking place, the change in the relation of forces and to make the programme the policy and to construct the cadres for this epoch, which they did not do. None of them. It was the IV International Group, of the Argentine which fulfilled this historic task.

We criticise as yesterday Com. Ramirez, because when he gives an explanation about why the party corrects him, he refers to the masses of the Argentine and does not refer to the preparation of 20 years when we made the party. When he speaks of the masses in this way, this is to hide conscious history and not to base oneself on it for tomorrow. This is to take the view that Ramirez is going to wait, seated at his lawyers desk, for the Argentine masses to influence the Party, so that they can make him advance. No, it is not this way. We have just finished correcting with great severity, a declaration of a Uruguayan comrade who was in the Argentine, a declaration on the action of the Party and the masses which Ramirez had under his nose; but he did not see it. And Ramirez has had years in the International and has made as great an error as comrades P and C. This does not affect Socialist morality but throws to the ground the conscious and scientific conception of the party and thus leads to empiricism. It is empirical. It does not affect Socialist morality, but it has wider effects than an individual action. It dismisses the Party and the Party sees this. It sees that he has to be subject to the discipline imposed by the action of the Party, through tradition and organised experience which means the source of measures of inspiration, and of conscious orientation. It is necessary to be related to this, to be based on this. The construction of our cadres as a consequence, is made in a more uneven way than ever.

The Bolsheviks were able to dedicate years to the objective study of the texts, to test day by day and to have time to correct, but now no. We do not stop being concerned with the liberation of the comrades arrested in Spain, when we read in the papers that there are new comrades arrested. We combine everything. We shout, "Long Live the comrades" and launch into the campaign for the liberation of the new comrades arrested.

In the same way as before death or joy, death or life, we do not think in a different way. And we have combined a meeting, a homage to Trotsky with at the same time, with immense joy and satisfaction, a farewell to comrade H. This is in a document which you know. We have combined at the same time homage to Trotsky, on the anniversary of his assassination and the fiesta on the departure of Comrade H. who is going to undertake a task. There is no place for contradiction. To express homage to Trotsky does not annul joy and satisfaction in life. We do not live for Marx, Engels, Lenin or Trotsky. We live for the logical necessity that our consciousness impels us to advance the progress of history. Equally we base ourselves on Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky who lived for this. If we are liquidated and we are dead, we do not serve this historic necessity; for this reason our joy is constant. Thousands of comrades will die but we go forward. The grief for lost comrades is because we feel the loss of the necessary instruments for progress. And as life is composed of affectionate relations which are part of progress and stimulate us, we feel the grief of death and the removal of comrades. They are part of the instruments of progress, are part of the sentiments which form part of this necessity of progress. They constitute part of this progress.

The cadres who come to the International have to acquire this experience and this notion of history. They adhere rapidly to the ideas and struggle because this is what humanity demands. The child of five takes a gun, a person of 25 takes another and they are the same because their historical objectives are the same. In one it is more conscious, in the other it is less conscious. It is easy to acquire. What is not easy to acquire is the ability to organise life, to be able to utilise the best qualities within each of us, to dominate impulse, to organise the qualities. I said yesterday: I observe phenomena and at that particular moment all my concern is dominated by a centre. I make notes which are arranged within myself. I prepare my mind, preparing myself for the decided moment. I combine practical action, as in life with the ordering of the mind for the expression of ideas, for organising information, reckoning how to formulate ideas. There are moments in which I subdue them, reduce them, observing their tendency and I am ready to conquer everything which they say it is necessary to conquer. Thus I am ready to yield to the necessities of the masses. And I am combining practical action with thought.

Thought influences practice and practice, thinking. This was the thought of Marx. Doubtless we are pupils of Marx, but in relation to historic responsibility, we have the same level as Marx and the proletariat has the same responsibility and level as Marx; to struggle for the same objectives as Marx. We do not possess the capacity of Marx, his unrivalled capacity, humanity is not going to produce another Marx but we feel ourselves to be as responsible as Marx, to be at the same level as Marx in historic responsibility. This responsibility is difficult. It is not impossible but it is difficult because militants are impelled by all the habits of life, by all their relations and the pleasures which dominate them. Thus when I leave a thing for tomorrow or something which I forgot, for the night, it is in order to maintain in an ordered way the capacity for reflection which prevents one being surprised by anything. It is not that I am lacking confidence to do anything, because even here there are a thousand things to do, but it is necessary to choose the essentials. There are comrades who prepare themselves and feel annoyed because there is no discussion on what they believe it is necessary to discuss. We believe that the important matters are those we are discussing and our task is to try to convince them of what it is necessary to discuss. And we discuss when we believe it is necessary to discuss. This is to prepare ourselves to receive the influences to elevate ourselves and try to influence at the right moment, at the moment which has most effect, which succeeds in organising the force and the will of the militants.

The Spanish section forms part of this process. It is impelled by the world revolution, by the resolution of the Spanish masses, but it is necessary to organise scientifically our cadres with the International. This helps the section to understand, feel, and see it. But on entering into contact, entering into struggle, into daily life, others come who are more distant from the understanding, and the capacity of our cadres. And our cadres have a tendency immediately to place themselves on top, to be paternalist. This is the first inclination of the leader: paternalism. He feels that he is working with a correct historical function but he does not feel himself indentified with objective necessity. He lacks the historical construction to be so; so he works in a paternalistic form. He does not propose it, desire it or wish it; he works empirically. Our task in correcting all these defects, is to base ourselves on the past, to impel the revolutionary qualities. You say "I am not lying". We know that you do not propose to deceive. If you proposed to deceive, if you believed that you would make a problem for Arroyo or the Congress, you would not be capable of having healthy ideas. It is thus a lack of sufficient security which prevents you confronting yourself; it is lack of security. The life in the Party, the ordered life will allow you to have a more secure notion of your strength, and not to be afraid. You are afraid to confront the Party and its ideas are correct and your capacity exists. What is the task? To say that you are a coward, that you are not capable. No, but rather that you do not know how to order your strength. No, it is not a question of fear or cowardice, it is that you do not know what to do with your capacity. It is necessary to order, to organise it. As we said to Ramirez: "You do not say that it is the party which is imposing itself on you". It is necessary to do this. It is your party that we prepare, as yesterday it made the appeal to the Congress, the appeal to the Central Committee with public documents and Ramirez forgot this. Public documents, where it appealed to the Party to impose itself on the leadership and to go over the leadership.

Party, programme, individuals whatever they might be are transitory instruments of history. They are instruments which serve and are to be valued in as much as they serve history consciously. There is a differentiation between the development of human needs and the capacity to fulfill them. Human society still does not control nature and still does not control it, because it does not control society. Control of society means farewell to nature; the control of society to do what is required.

The function of this crisis in the Spanish section, the criticisms, and the self criticisms must be based on the best qualities of a militant. The best of a militant is not always the consciousness of fighting consciously for the socialist revolution; it is necessary to base oneself on this; base oneself on the party, base oneself on the International. These are the three aspects you did not touch upon.

G wrote two or three letters but scarcely announced this problem. We were not able to understand the profundity and the level of the problem. We do not believe that it is a tragic or dramatic business, but they are problems which it is necessary to resolve.

Our party lives in stages, in periods. Unequal development means that the development of the party does not develop in an organic, sufficient form appropriate to the demands. Good it is necessary to develop this. The earlier problems of T and N, their former problems, belong to another stage. Do not base yourself on this. You see a crisis but nevertheless you have a different consciousness. If you had sufficient consciousness there would be no crisis. Once consciousness is acquired, it is not necessary to refer to former crises. You look at the past and you are joyful and happy to feel that you have been capable of meeting the necessities of life because life is this: progress. Before you had no consciousness of what was taking place and you lived satisfied by the life which you lived. Progress attracts you, impels you to have conscious ideas and

these make you see the world and to see a force of which you had no notion before. Your strength is not your individual capacity; your strength is the understanding of the ideas which move the world, the realisation of what moves the world, and what exists in the process. You feel yourselves to be fused with a part of this consciousness; there can be found the origin and the source of the satisfactions which are the most legitimate; the most legitimate which leads you to feel part of progress. You feel yourself united to the past and to the future, whatever be the time that is coming. You feel united to time because you are united to the level of consciousness which humanity is reaching and which also leads to another era of history.

Progress is daily, constant. The desire of humanity is progress, progress not individualism. Human progress, social human responsibility in which humanity can decide because there are no private interests. Dominating these, there are no sexual problems, the sexual problem is dominated. It is not possible to dominate by saying I am this or that. One must feel that the sexual problems forms part of an instinctive necessity, but educated horribly in a private form, by Capitalist society.

Socialism is not going to eliminate the sexual instinct. It is going to order it, as we order it. We rule ourselves so as not to be victims, prisoners of the sexual instinct. You dominate it and make of the necessity of the natural relation which is the sexual instinct, a conscious use, not the objective of satisfaction. For this we said in the bulletin on Uruguay, the legitimate sexual relation is that which responds to the harmonious necessity to impel life; the rest no. To smoke, to drink-without meaning an insult to comrades who smoke—means that they live in the past. It is not an offence, nor do we make a resolution that they must stop smoking; we ask comrades to stop smoking because they can dispose of greater forces if they stop, to be subject in a lesser degree to smoking and drinking.

Alcoholism as every vice including the cigarette, has its origin in the social relation of private property which determines individualism. Every vice bases itself on the individualist condition. The basis which eliminates every vice is not a better economic state of life; it is the collective social life in which there may not be a better economic state of life compared for example with the United States. But the social life permits one to find an explanation in the elimination of individualism and to find satisfaction in the collective life; and also to be rid of the basis of the vice. Alcoholism is a vice with an individualist origin. The basis is misery, but without the prior existence of individualism there is no such vice. The drunkard wastes his money at the cost of his wife and sons. And he does this not because he is a bad type, but because he is an individualist. He yields to the social anxiety of individualist existence and drinks. That is determined by exploitation, because he finds no solution is true, but it is an individualist escape, depends upon his individual satisfaction.

The rich drink because they have no other way of living than drunkeness. They have a great deal of money and do not know how to spend it. They devote themselves to sexual satisfaction, smoke, are full of vices, live above all subject to instinctive stimulus. The rich man is good for nothing, is subjected and submitted to a nature egotistically organised by Capitalist society, he lives subject to this, a nature egotistically organised by Capitalist society. Every drunken man, although his immediate action might be to close his eyes to the reality in which he lives, acts nevertheless educated by the form of society in a private, individualist way, he seeks his own personal satisfaction. He drinks, to close his eyes to reality, but he does this in an individualist form. It is an individualist satisfaction. Why does not the child of seven years do this? He takes a rifle and in place of seeking an individualist solution, takes food, clothes, to liquidate the Yanks without knowing, without having a historic consciousness that he is solving a necessary problem.

The same with cigarettes; every type of smoker is an individualist, because he tends to a bodily satisfaction not to general activity and he knows that this harms him. But the impulse which provokes the vice satisfies him; he is an individualist who compensates his lack of security with this. If he is won by collective necessity, he abandons a cigarette. But the cigarette is unnecessary, and is harmful. It is not that he does not possess strength; he is an individualist and for this reason he has no strength. That there are others who do not smoke, who succeed in eliminating it, but remain being individualists is certainly true. But every smoker is an individualist because the vice cannot assert itself, unless it is based on individualism. Whence does the vice gain its strength? Why does the vice attain strength? Because the smoker is an individualist, expects personal satisfaction, nothing more. This is the depth of the question. And among the peoples where there is greater alcoholism than in others, the origin is social, but this is prepared by the previous condition of Capitalism; of individualism. And individualism only disappears in the class struggle, in the social struggle. For this reason in the trade unions, in the revolutionary struggle, the cigarette is disappearing, drinking and other vices are disappearing, because people have no further need to respond to the individual necessity of vice. They feel the necessity of life in the class struggle.

I invite the comrades who are smoking to draw the conclusion and stop smoking. To stop smoking because it is horrible; the cigarette is bad and hinders the capacity of the militant. A very great part of the organism is dedicated to awaiting the satisfaction of cigarette smoking; and breathing in, blowing out smoke and the rest, is done independently of the function of the mind. The cigarette can excite at a certain stage but it finishes by causing more damage than stimulus. The more smoking is abandoned, the greater the benefit that is going to be found. You are going to find more activity from the brain because it is going to have more space, more filaments than those which wait for tobacco smoke and which prevents them thinking well, or concentrating all their thinking. For this reason our great masters did not smoke and Marx also stopped smoking.

When we say, put out the cigarette, it is in order to regulate the position. It is necessary to use everything to regulate matters. This Congress, the School of Cadres is a school for regulating. The comrades who have come above all from the petit bourgeoisie but also from the workers' movement, who are not educated, in the party, believe that the important thing, the necessary, the decisive thing is the political. And the letter directed to a father is in part directed to this. Politics are necessary but whoever does not know how to educate his son cannot produce a good policy. Why? What does revolutionary policy mean? To organise the feelings, to function at the most elevated level. And the children form a part of revolutionary functioning. And the other comrades also. Here we learn, it is a school for the ordering of the will, of the feelings subject to consciousness. For this reason, marxism is the consciousness of the unconscious process of history, because in its development, the masses are obliged through their social historic practice to be orderly. Historic necessity imposes itself on them through the economy, through their role in society. Marxism is the ability to forsee this process not because it deduces and draws it from outside reality, no! It is an observation of reality; for this reason it is the conscious expression: it deduces from the phenomenon produced. It calculates and prepares the forces to intervene. And we do the same. The party is the same. The party fulfills this function: it calculates and forsees.

You and other people who also come to the International, will have a series of inclinations, sexual inclinations which tend to corrupt; therefore it is necessary to make the party intervene. It is necessary to educate oneself in everything. Our discussions on Spain have the same object. It is necessary to impose on yourself and on N a severe regulation of life. When we see that we cannot do this by the severe way, the use of the forms changes. Blows do not resolve any problem but at times it is necessary to give blows. If the police come in vans we cannot say to them: "look, wait". It is necessary to give blows and do it well; as in the film "The Comrades".

The instincts cannot be eliminated, it is necessary to educate them. The instincts originate in thousands of years of the existence of private property, thousands of years. And this has an influence. Lenin has a phrase with respect to habits in the party: "One of the most difficult things to resolve for humanity is habit and custom". Lenin made statements which were historic judgements. Every sentence of Lenin was a historic statement. With this Lenin showed that in the Bolshevik Party joined with an immense historic decision, there were habits and customs which came from a previous epoch. And the historic pressure which expressed itself in a concentrated form, the historic pressure, delay and insecurity was shown by Bukharin, Kamenev, Zinoviev who prepared themselves for 25 years for the taking of power. They were honest and worthy revolutionaries who had no other object in life than the revolution, and then the moment arrived to take power and they failed, hesitated. They were not fearful or cowardly; they delayed, were indecisive. They had historic fear of the moment, they did not feel themselves to be capable. They yielded to all the historic pressure of insecurity. Because they were not masters of the economic apparatus, they did not possess the material forces, they felt uncertain. They had no confidence in the masses who were going to decide. Lenin had confidence in the masses.

You also have confidence in the masses, that like Lenin comes from a scientific relation with the masses. Lenin had confidence in the masses, because he held to the party, and the party was the instrument which educated them, educated the vanguard, educated the cadres, educated the cadres in relation to the class and the class was influenced by the party. It is the party which influences. The class without the party, the class does not influence, because it is empirical, because it is the economy which places the class in contact with each other. It is a mistake of R., when he says "the class has no personality". It is the economy which places the class in contact with each other, but from the economy it passes to the trade union, to the party, from the party to Marx, already to the Workers State. The class elevates itself, up to constituting itself into the Workers State, as the sector which decides. But it is never going to transform itself into a leading class because it is going to disappear; in the measure that the Workers State elevates itself, the working class disappears. But it succeeds in influencing as a class here now, because it imposes the type of struggle.

The masses of Vietnam, even without the tradition of the Bolshevik life, influenced by the world revolution, through their own struggle have imposed

Socialist morality in Vietnam. They have imposed Socialist morality in Vietnam, not because it is a mental imposition, but because it is the material expression of the daily life which Marx forsaw and deduced from the analysis of history. In order to advance, Socialist morality is necessary. It is not a principle which we inject to control, as did the church, to control its flock, no. The Socialist morality is not a control, it is a logical necessity of life for the more each one thinks collectively, the better. For this reason the proletariat is the most complete class historically, the most capable, the most powerful, because in order to advance, it expresses the best and the most elevated aspect of human progress, the collective moral consciousness which represents the purest aspect of humanity; to think for all.

This is already the case in Spain. The comrades say that they receive very good letters from the arrested comrades, full of joy and optimism. While the parents were worried, they were full of optimism "we are quite alright", they said. And these were new comrades. This is not a particular, exclusive product of the struggle of the Spanish masses. They already see the conscious perspective through the party. It is necessary to centre around this, but also to educate, to prepare oneself by education.

There is nothing which arises spontaneously; it is necessary to educate, order the life for this, from the least important things to the most important. In practice, it is necessary to exercise education for the dominion of the will, for scientific study, to study, study, study. To study does not mean to resolve problems, but to give security, to allow comrades to see further and to see other problems also.

The problems of sexual instinct are not decisive. It is not necessary to think that you are the victims of a sexual complex and that this is paralysing. That is impossible. It is a combination of mind and practice. And also there is your daughter. You should remember you have an excellent daughter and you do not know how to use this force. You said "I made a self criticism before T and she accepted this". This has no validity, it is very easy to see. She has criticised you; this is important. You said "I sought a way out". No. You felt a pressure of conscience and sought in some way to drown it and went to T. The means are not bad but it is very insufficient, very small. But you feel that your conscience says you are behaving badly. And as your conscience speaks: you are working badly and then you feel the pressure of the sexual instinct, so you go to T.

It is not only the sexual instinct. It is timidity in work. Timidity which is reflected in political life and makes you feel small. It is timidity. Every type dominated by sexual instinct is timid in depth; he is afraid. But it is not fear, because he is a fearful person, but because he does not organise his forces.

But the sole reason that you are where you are, that you do what you are doing, that you advance rapidly, that makes you a Trotskyist, shows that you have a force, a very great force which you do not know how to organise, that you have not been able to organise. Good, organise this; dedicate yourself to this and realise that G has orientated us towards you to understand this, that you can be a good Trotskyist militant. The attitude of G was not to condemn you nor to place you at the judgement of a tribunal, but to make you and her advance. Realise that our interest is this; to give you the strength and security, which you possess within yourself, and which you do not know how to order, manage and utilise. For this reason the importance of the participation in the Congress.

The organisation, the education of the militant is over a period; the more rapidly you do it, the better. Practice it, think constantly. In thinking about children do not delay. Let it serve you as an elevation of the sentiment before life. Every revolutionary has to love children, be preoccupied with them. Now we cannot dedicate ourselves to children, because if the solution of the future was to be found in the care of children, we would do this. The future is to break the historic obstacle which private property means, Capitalism, Imperialism, the Soviet bureaucracy, the bureaucracy of the Communist and Socialist parties. For this reason we do not dedicate ourselves to children. But the future of humanity consists in its reproduction, which are the children. For this reason there is a natural inclination in revolutionaries to love children. This is natural. It is not a consequence of a social duty, it is a natural inclination, as Socialist morality is necessary in order to live. To live it is necessary to love children, to be concerned with children, to love them because it is part of us, forms part of human progress.

But we are not able to dedicate ourselves to look after children, because this does not provide the basis to eliminate the social obstacles, we dedicate ourselves to smash Capitalism. But we have to unite both things. This is difficult. And the comrade fathers feel themselves interested in the meetings for the political life; so they sacrifice the children. This is not right; in this concrete case, it is their militant responsibility to take care of the children as your militant responsibility is to overcome the pressure of the sexual instinct. And it is necessary to seek a form of life and of relations which elevate confidence and the certainty that human satisfaction lies not in sexual practice but in conscious progress, in the conscious satisfaction of the mind. It is totally complete, totally irreplaceable the satisfaction of the mind; to feel the immense satisfaction of the actions of the children

of Aden. But it should not remain there, but should raise itself to the level of consciousness and to practice, in a way to give you security and will to eliminate the other. It is simple.

Your error, cde P is less important than that of C, because you are more recent, but at the same time your rapid reaction shows that you have conscious forces, noble forces which are not yet organised. You are conscious that you have this, hence your attitude. From your origin you should be on the other side, but now it is not a question of origin.

Human progress now envelops and unifies humanity, but human progress has a leadership which is proletarian. You, I and the proletariat G, C and Gi have the same interest, same will and objective. There are grades of resolution and understanding but it is necessary to raise to the maximum level, the consciousness, consciousness. For this reason scientific study is not only to understand how to advance, but to have a dominion over oneself. Scientific study; do this. C is obliged to resolve the problems of N & C. I believe that this must force him in a particular form to intervene better; to intervene with greater knowledge. I do not believe there is any reason for any breaking of relations with our comrade. I do not know the reason and what can have happened, but I believe there is no reason. Your inclination to seek satisfaction from another companion and other women has no social, political or conscious reason. It is simply instinct and it is shameful for a militant to be dominated by instinct; it is shameful. It is not a militant approach. It is simply instinct and it is shameful for a militant to be dominated by instinct. Instinct means the beginning of human being; not the origin, the beginning. In origin, instinct was dominated as said Engels. At the beginning of the organisation of society, instinct began to change dominated by the sentiment of private property, which organised instinct. And you are now at the beginning. This is unequal and combined development. You struggle for the taking of power, and yet you are at the beginning. The life of the party can eliminate this. It is easy to overcome.

I think that this Congress must make a declaration: first, of recognition for the concern of Cde G in the name of the EB and of you to elevate the relations and Socialist morality in our European sections; to accept the criticisms made by Cde G and the European Bureau of Cde C and to accept in turn the declarations of comrades C & P promising to overcome in a short stage such errors and such insufficiencies in their militant life. And it is necessary to state at the same time, that these two comrades have shown that they have the base, the capacity and the strength to overcome them. But the condition to overcome them is the necessity to order their life with a superior study, a superior political functioning and to give themselves a timetable of progress. Timetable. And the intervals of progress are: to propose in a determined time to write, I propose as I have proposed for many years, that a form of overcoming a crisis of growth, is to write.

To write allows the organisation of the mind. For a revolutionary it is not the same as for the person who simply writes on some matter. The revolutionary when he writes is constructing himself. It is necessary to write and write. Everyone who has had a crisis should write without fear. Writing allows the mind to function, organises it and makes the ideas which are best dominate, function. Write, do not fear to write. For this reason, those who are in crisis and are not confident, are afraid to write and it is more convenient to speak. Writing strengthens and gives security to the thought. Do this, write even if it is only two lines. Not for us, for yourself. In the same way, when you need to resolve any problem, whether theoretical or political, write. Even if only for yourself.

I write a thousand things which afterwards I destroy. And make sketches for articles. The object in sketches is to find forms. It is thus I give form to ideas how to seek, understand what I seek or how to seek, to understand the process. Write even if it is only for yourself, beacuse it allows the concentration of the thought to synthesise, and consequently discover the solution to the dominion which allows afterwards to be extended, generalised and applied.

I believe that this Congress must draw up these resolutions and at the same time show that even in an indirect and slow form, the fact that comrades C & P have accepted the criticisms and the intervention of this commission, which discussed with you the formulas of this congress, demonstrates your disposition to progress, if not you would not do this. If not you would seek to evade. This means that you are sensible, capable of receiving the influence of the Congress, of the IV International, and show that you have other qualities, that the Congress elevates them, makes you feel them and the Congress says to you: look at the strength which you have. This is the symbiosis between the individual forces and the collective force of the Congress.

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The discussion in the Soviet Union about the relationship between consciousness and existence, expresses the need for and the role of Marxism of today, Posadism.

Closely based on an article which appeared in "Lotta Operaia", Organ of the Partido Comunista Rivoluzionario (Trotskista), Italian Section of the IV International. 24th June 1969

One of the most important expressions of progress and the development of revolutionary tendencies in the Workers' States is the discussion that is under way in the Soviet Union about the relationship between consciousness and existence in this phase of history. This discussion is considering the world wide preoccupation about how to build socialism, the influence that the existence of the Workers' States exercises in the world and the struggle for Communist ideas. It is a discussion that is trying to find a Marxist explanation for the way that this phase of history is structured and to draw the necessary conclusions as regards the role of the Workers' State in the confrontations that the world socialist revolution makes with capitalism. This discussion forms part of a process in which the bureaucratic leaderships of the Workers' States, in the face of a relationship of world forces favourable to the revolution, the failure of pacific, reformist politics and the progress of the socialist consciousness of the world masses, must respond more to the objective interests of the development of the Workers' States and the socialist revolution to preserve their conservative interets as a bureaucratic caste. It is a discussion that takes place within the framework of a process of harmonisation of the world revolution which imposes its objective necessities inspite of the subjective obstacles and braking action presented by these leaderships which do not respond to the necessities of the process.

When the Soviet philosophers confirm that Marx never said that consciousness must always come one step behind existence, and at the same time they say that there is need for progress in the structuring of the Soviet Union itself so as to make a greater development of consciousness possible, this discussion reflects the need for a Marxist analysis of this phase of the world revolution - an analysis that neither the texts of Marx, Engels, Lenin nor even Trotsky can provide. The political and theoretical analysis of Posadas is needed to understand this reality - the reality of a world in which there are 16 Workers' States in existence and capitalism still survives, but in which the masses have overthrown capitalism sometime ago in their consciousness. The analyses of Posadas are the application of Marxism and its creative development to respond to the need to understand the reality of today and how to solve the problems it poses. And Posadas is the only person who has been saying that today it is consciousness that determines existence now.

This is not in contradiction with Marxism . Under capitalism it is existence that determines consciousness. The consciousness of capitalism is determined by its capitalist existence, that is, its purpose of defending what it has - private property. But the world proletarian vanguard, expressed at its highest level today by the action of the Vietnamese masses, and from the point of view of its theoretical consciousness, by the IV International, can already live according to its consciousness. It was in the same way that Marx organised his life, not on the basis of his existence, that is his bourgeois

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social origin, but on the basis of the consciousness that he had reached of the need for Communism. And today this is the level reached not by a small sector, but by the masses, who act according to the consciousness that they have attained of the need for Communism and the superiority of Communism, and they remain faithful to this consciousness independently of the momentary, circumstancial conditions of their existence. In situations which could have found the working class in such conditions as might have encouraged it to make an alliance with capitalism, it has not done so. In the second world war the Soviet masses who rejected in their consciousness the bureaucratic power of Stalinism, did not take advantage of wartime to overthrow Stalin because this would have put the Workers' State in danger. Instead they remained faithful to their class nature, acting on the basis of their consciousness, keeping themselves within their class field. The masses act not only on the basis of their class instinct or their class consciousness at its immediate level, they respond according to the needs of the struggle against capitalism as a whole. They act on the basis of a secure, stable class consciousness, according to conditions which are more complicated than simply the trade union struggle or even the political struggle against capitalism. In the above mentioned case, it was not the circumstancial fact of the existence of the bureaucracy that determined their behaviour, but their consciousness of the need to put the defence of the Workers' State before any other need.

25 years from the second world war this phenomenon develops at a much higher level. The masses act, as the Cde. J. Posadas analyses, in such a way as to compensate for the lack of a Mass Communist International. They showed this during the Middle East crisis with a concentration of mass mobilisations, both in the Middle East and in the rest of the world to respond victoriously to the aggression of imperialism, and the result was, inspite of the Israeli military success, the social defeat of Isreal and imperialism which Cde. Posadas analysed; they showed it in the way that they have responded to the experiences of the French May in 1968 drawing world-wide conclusions from it, transferring the experience elsewhere, clearly compensating for the lack of a world revolutionary centre of elaboration and co-ordination.

Another fundamental thing that shows the role of consciousness in respect to existence is the fact that in both the Workers' States and in some countries which still are not fully Workers' States the masses impose, always in a more accentuated form, conceptions, criteria, forms of functioning and forms of distribution of the material wealth which corresponds - according to Marx's foresight - to the phase of Communism, even if the material conditions for Communism do not yet exist. Thus it is that the existence of the bureaucracy has been able to hold back the taking of power on the part of the proletariat in various countries, to hold back the construction of the Workers' States and preparation for the world-wide construction of socialism and Communism, but it has not been able to put a stop to the progress of the socialist consciousness of the masses who have drawn very great conclusions from the world experience of the revolution and behave not according to the material limits of their existence but according to their consciousness of the necessity and superiority of Communist conceptions and go along applying these conceptions even now.

It is for this reason, as the Soviet philosopher, Kapitza corroborates, that the Soviet Workers' State influences the masses of the capitalist countries, inspite of the block that the bureaucracy tries to put on the process. For the masses act on the basis of the highest level achieved by humanity, the example of the superiority of the Workers' State, and not on the basis of the limitations in their existence or the conciliatory policy of the bureaucracy. What Kapitza says coincides with the thought of Cde. J. Posadas. And Posadas gives a harmonious, global explanation of this phenomenon in his documents.

This evidence of the role of consciousness in this phase of the world revolution shows that from the start the conditions for the taking of power exist. This is what explains the development of the revolution and the immediate installation of Workers' States in countries which up till yesterday were considered the furthest off from progress and the influence of the Workers' States, like, for instance, Sudan. In countries, which according to capitalism, are the most "backward" in the world, where there still exist feudal or primitive economic relations, those same masses as use bows and arrows know about Lenin, and all about China and Cuba, as Cde. Posadas insists many times in his documents. In Sudan,

if they were depending on the level of productive forces their behaviour would be completely different. But instead their behaviour is not derived from the backwardness of their economic conditions, but from their consciousness of the fact that the Workers' States are an example to be followed.

This is what makes it possible that, as Kapitza says, "Our victorious socialist revolution, due to its very existence" influences the whole world. But it would be able to influence a great deal more if is could express itself through organisms and if this objective influence that exists of itself could develop in a scientific, organic, conscious way through the intervention of the masses and their communication with the masses of the rest of the world, in a word, through soviets. Soviets are needed as they were in the first seven years of the existence of the Soviet Workers' State, in the times of Lenin and Trotsky, when the soviets functioned as the expression of the will of the Soviet masses. With their organ of expression, deliberation, decision, and application, and organisms in which proletarian democracy was practiced and through which the power of the proletariat was exercised they directed themselves to the masses of the world, showing in an unquestionable way the enormous superiority of the Workers' State with respect to capitalism, not only from the economic and political point of view, but above all from the social, cultural and moral point of view. Even without soviets this superiority finds expression, but in a very limited way. Thus the statement made by Cde. Kapitza is very important and must be developed so as to reach all the conclusions that derive from it. He said that it is necessary to improve the structure of the Workers' State to make greater ascent in consciousness possible. Improving the structure of the Workers State to make greater ascent in consciousness possible. Improving the structure of the Workers' State means making the soviets function, eliminating all material incentives, eliminating market economy, doing away with absurd frontiers between one Workers' State and another and planning their economies in common, building the Anti-Imperialist and Anti-Capitalist United Front and the Mass Communist International.

Consciousness is not independent of society. It must have a means of expression. To develop, it must act on society and it must have an organ with which to act. This organ has already been in existence, there exists a historical experience which showed itself to be valid and which is already part of the historical consciousness of the masses; this organ is the soviet. Cde. J. Posadas has analysed the significance of its existence in various documents and particularly in the "Historical Assessment of the 50 Years of Existence of the Soviet Workers' State". If the soviet functioning of the Workers' State during 7 years, 50 years ago, has had so much influence, how much more it could have today, when there are 16 Workers' States in existence! If the USSR has not more influence over the masses of the USA it's because of the absence of organisms, that is, of soviets in the USSR.

We make an appeal for the discussion of these problems. The Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist), British Section of the IV International, makes an appeal to the Soviet masses, cadres, the leaders of the Soviet Communist Party, to the intellectuals who are intervening in this discussion, and to the whole world revolutionary workers' movement to organise a public world discussion on the development of the Workers' States, the construction of socialism, the soviet, and the policy and tactics needed to make an end of capitalism and imperialism in the whole world and to construct socialism. It must be a discussion on how to influence the capitalist world with the prospect of overthrowing capitalism. The Conference of Moscow is a beginning in the return of the Workers' State to the period of the soviets, a return to the accomplishment of the function of influenceing organically through the soviet and the Mass Communist International in the capitalist world. It showed the beginning of a functioning like that of the Mass Communist International for it responded, albeit in a limited and deformed way, to the need for a united leadership of the world revolution.

We salute the progess meant by the discussion on these problems with the intervention of Kapitza from the Soviet Academy of Science, and for different aspects meant by the Conference of Moscow. This is programmatic progress, conscious progress of the world revolution. It is a discussion of the decisive problems of this phase in history. They are problems which demand not just a partialy correct comprehension of this or that aspect, but the complete and harmonic mastery of Marxism which means of the Marxism of this historical phase. It is Posadism that responds to these problems; this

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is why in the measure that different sectors of the world revolution advance in the understanding of these problems, even if only single aspects of them, they will have to come to the thought of the IV International and Posadas, declaring Posadism as their essential instrument to aid their advance, and they will have to impose a United Front with the IV International as an inescapable necessity for the conscious and harmonic advance in accomplishing the tasks of the final encounter of the revolution with capitalism and the construction of socialism.

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Impose Discussions in the Communist Party on the Resolutions of the Moscow Conference

The International Conference of Communist Parties in Moscow launched an appeal to make the 20th July an International day of anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist struggle in support of Vietnam. We support and salute this appeal with all our strength. But the 20th July has come and gone and the British Communist Party participants at the Conference have organised nothing.

We the RWP(T) British Section of the IV International make an appeal to the base of the Communist Party, particularly to YCL to demand of their leadership why they have not responded to the appeal, to which they themselves were signatory. We appeal to the communist base to carry forward the discussion opened by the International Communist Conference, using as a basis for this discussion all the documents of Cde. Posadas and the IV International, on the nature and role of the bureaucracy of the Workers States in this stage of history, on the process of the political revolution in China and Cuba, on the process of the nationalist revolution to the Workers State etc. In the next issue of Red Flag we will publish the first part of a resolution of the Political Bureau of the French Section of the IV International which gives a very important analysis of this conference, an analysis which is irreplaceable for the communist base in all its discussions of the organisation of the struggle against capitalism and imperialism. We appeal also to the Communist base to reject the visit of Nixon to Rumania. This visit of the chief imperialist assassin who at this moment is preparing the war against the Workers States and the world revolution, tries to gain authority before the petit bourgeois masses of the USA, tries to show that U.S. Imperialism is interested in peace; it is the Workers States and world revolution who are damaged by this visit. It is necessary to reject in all the organisms of the Communist Party this visit of Nixon and all such links, visits, and attempts at conciliation with imperialism by the leaderships of the Communist Parties and Workers States.

OUT WITH NIXON FROM RUMANIA!

FOR A WORLD ANTI-CAPITALIST ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT!

Resolutions of the VIII World Congress of the IV International

THE SO-CALLED LETTER OF GUEVARA SERVES TO CONTAIN & LIMIT THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN CUBA

April 1967 **Cde. J. Posadas**

Adopted as a resolution

This document which has just been published under the title 'Create one, two, three Vietnams' and which is attributed to Guevara, is not from him. It is a subterfuge of the Fidel Castro group to try to contain the immense pressure of the Guevarist base in Cuba. They are frightened of an attack, for one of the consequences of the Political Revolution in China is going to be that the Guevara affair will re-emerge. They need to hide historic truth. But sooner or later, it will have to appear. With this document and the reference to Bolivia and Brasil, they are going to present, in a little while, Guevara as dead or assassinated.

It is we who have said that the movement, the group of Fidel Castro has assassinated and eliminated Guevara. Assassinated or eliminated, or kept in prison, he cannot participate politically and that is the objective.

This letter is basically and in reality destined to impede, to polemicise and to politically combat the Guevarist wing, by opposing a programme of deception to the revolutionary programme of today; Trotskyism. This is what the letter is meant for. It is a commiseration; attention! "There is nothing, death comes, and destruction. We are not strong enough, the possibilities do not exist etc.' Everything in the letter goes in this sense. They ignore the living reality which is under their noses, it is world Capitalism which is in retreat and on the defensive. It is the masses of the world who are advancing and encircling Capitalism and effectively putting it to flight, even if the revolution does not triumph everywhere. But there is a permanent process of advance of the class struggle. The class and revolutionary struggle is not a single act. This last act is the culminating point of a whole previous process of class struggle, which prepared it with constant, constant advances. In Brasil, in Bolivia, in Peru, in Mexico, the class struggle advances. It is absurd to ignore the struggle of the masses and the constant retreat of Capitalism. Absurd to ignore it. These defeats of Imperialism prepare later actions.

But on a contrary the letter is a mystification; the guerrillas go to the mountain, launch an appeal to the masses and they are going to follow. On what will the population base themselves in order to follow the guerrillas? On what previous actions? What organisation, what life, what previous struggle, so that the population follows the guerrillas? Without a previous struggle no guerrilla can attract anybody. Without the big struggles of the proletariat of the sugar industry, without the struggles of the railway workers of Cuba, of the worker and peasant masses, Fidel Castro would not have triumphed. There has already been a historic precedent which was not for nothing; 4 Trotskyist deputies and 2 senators, and a powerful Communist Party. Fidel Castro did not emerge from nowhere to attract these people. The social conditions were already established. And in the document it is the opposite; "Look out for Imperialism, don't make a noise, destruction and death are coming." It is a lie. They want to prevent the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

Anybody who writes a letter feels the need for a political organised activity, of influencing organically, of not only firing rifle shots. Why don't they weigh organically? Like the Cuban government. Why? What does such a public document mean? That they want to weigh organically in the world, as a leadership. And where is he to be found? How does he make himself felt, with a movement, a group, a party? Even if he does not say where he is, the problem is; how to make himself felt, how can he influence? It is not necessary to say where he is to be found. But he should appear organically, as we do. In that situation it is necessary to do this, elsewhere something else, make appeals to do so and so.

The revolutionary struggle is not silent, but noisy. The rifle shots, the agitation, the programme make a noise, need to communicate. There is no such thing as a silent revolutionary struggle. It is the bureaucrats who maintain silence for fear of arousing the world, for they are even frightened of the flies.

It speaks of Bolivia, of Brasil. Where is he? If he was in a country he would say: 'It is necessary to do so and so' and would give a programme. This is what one would do to organise the masses. One cannot organise and attract in silence. This is not justified by any clandestinity. This means hiding oneself from the enemy, but one must appeal publicly to the masses, one calls them publicly, orientates them, appeals to them with the programme.

The Communist Manifesto says 'the Communists are not frightened of telling the truth, nor of appealing for struggle'. Good. In what organism does Guevara function? Why doesn't he submit to Fidel Castro, to the Tricontinental? Why has he not been to the Tricontinental conference? This so called document of Guevara is in contradiction with the Tricontinental. Why doesn't he give all power to this conference? Would he compete with it? This conference has meant an attempt at centrism by Fidel Castro to unify the leadership of the struggle to prevent it escaping from his hands. He sees himself obliged to advance in the revolution and he is frightened. From this comes the Tricontinental.

Inevitably he must show his contradictions, his antagonisms, his absurdities. It is absurd that at the moment itself as he holds the Tricontinental, Guevara disappears. Where is he, where is his organism? Where is his group, his action? There is nothing. It is a simple document which has neither the form nor the ideas of Guevara. It does not explain the last public stage which we know about, his trip to Africa and to China, in the course of which, he appealed for the struggle against the Soviet bureaucracy, against its bureaucratic power. The last public and world activity of Guevara has been a call against the Soviet bureaucracy, an appeal to destroy it, an appeal to support the revolutionary World United Front. This document runs counter to the tendency, the action and the thought of the last period of the known life of Guevara.

The document reflects the attitude of those who submit themselves to the military power of Imperialism, when it is Imperialism which is in process of being beaten. We repeat: the Conference of Presidents has just been held, and they have not been able to bring out any document against Cuba, or appeal to go to fight in Vietnam. They did it behind the scenes, they have not hurled themselves to do it publicly. Does this show the power of Imperialism? It has atomic arms, money, but no social force. And it is by basing oneself on this latter fact that one must appeal to the masses. This document is not a fighting revolutionary document. It is

mystical. Fidel Castro said a short time ago 'there is no class struggle in the United States'. Guevara and the Trotskyists say the opposite. We have publicly criticised Fidel Castro. He seeks a subterfuge with this document, a way of saying that the class struggle has begun in the United States. When Karl Marx died there had been a class struggle in the United States for a long time. Guevara and the Trotskyists speak of the class struggle of the North America proletariat. Fidel Castro has received criticisms from within and tries now to annul them by making reference to this problem. Guevara did not say "The class struggle begins to develop in the United States." He bases himself on it.

All those who think that we are impatient, leftist, that we are forced to say a living man is dead, deceive themselves. It is these who are forced to present a dead man as alive. Very rapidly this dead man is going to make it felt that it is not possible to make fun of him. For shortly in Cuba the question is going to arise "Where is Guevara?"

This document is entirely directed to contain the pressure of the layers of the revolutionary currents within Cuba, who are Guevarist and Trotskyist; to contain them, to resist the pressure so as to prepare in a short stage the explanation that he has been assassinated. If he lived, he would in process of directing the revolution. When they show him in a photograph, why don't they present him in life? Why don't they make a film of him? A film showing him in struggle, with such a programme and appeal? Why do they not show him calling for a struggle showing his organisation, his political life as has been done in Cuba. The Cuban revolutionaries in Mexico did not hide what they wanted.

Where is the organism in which Guevara functions? It is an infamy, a lie, and those who act in this way are ready for no matter what infamy in this story; whatever it might be. It is the perversion of the interests of one revolution submitted to the interests of centrism.

When they bring out a document without a date, without place of origin, it is because it is false, full of contradictions and lies. It is a shameful mystification, completely shameful. The last positions of Guevara are Trotskyist. He attacked the Soviet bureaucracy for its belief in material stimulus. He openly called for the liquidation of this. This letter is a sickly appeal of a religious person who addresses the world: "Look at these terrible Yankies who are killing, causing people to die." The Imperialists are the ones who are overwhelmed and buried by the world revolution; it is they who must withdraw and who have been at the meeting of presidents in Latin America to try to attract them against Cuba and Vietnam, and who have failed. In an indirect fashion, it is the presence of the force of the revolution. Ongania has not taken power in Argentina to give it to the CGT but to hinder it from taking power, and has amongst other objectives the objective of going to Vietnam and Cuba. Why doesn't it go?

The appeals to overthrow Capitalism and to combat it are abstract, idealist, without appeals for concrete struggles. Why do they not appeal for struggle in Columbia, in Venezuela, in Guatemala, in Brazil, in Bolivia, with a programme as was done by the Cuban revolution. And how are they going to develop the revolutions in the whole of the world? Their programme is concerned with containing, polemicising, rejecting the programme of the Geuvarist and Trotskyist tendencies. This expresses a very elevated process of organisation in Cuba. Otherwise they would not bring out such a document. If Guevara was really alive they would show him launching effective appeals for the revolution. The person who writes a document analysing, concerned with the world forces of the class struggle, has an interest in organising, in living an organic life in the organisms. Where is this organism? What is it? There is no reason why he should hide himself, Fidel Castro and the Cuban government do not conceal the fact that they are making organisms, they do not hide effective action. Clandestinity does not mean not saying what one is going to do.

The letter was produced in Cuba by the tendency of Fidel Castro and the Cuban Communist Party to try to contain the development of the Guevarist wing. As they were not able to combat it in the name of Fidel Castro, they did it in the name of Guevara. The document contradicts itself constantly. At no time does it speak of parliamentary methods. Its allusion to Yon Sosa to the guerrillas, is an appeal to the armed guerrilla, to the struggle for the taking of power, but without a programme. It is a contradictory document which reflects the present struggle in Cuba and the attempt of the leadership to arrive at a transitory agreement, very transitory.

This letter was written with the mentality of a bureaucrat, it is not that of a revolutionary. A revolutionary cannot see Imperialism powerful when the contrary is the case.

If De Gaulle had real power, he would show it in the capacity of French Capitalism. Why was he not capable of hindering the triumph of the Communist Party in France? And the 407 Trotskyist votes in an election in Saint Denis, why has he not hindered all that? This letter goes against reality. It is written for reasons of justification, as were all the crimes of Stalin. It was written with the desire to deceive history, and it is absurd. And it was written at the moment where in China they are opening the archives! It is only possible to write such a letter when Cuba is in such a tense situation. Otherwise there would be no need to write in this way. They write to contain the organisation of the revolutionary tendency, public discussion, and moreover afterwards, they justify repression.

The Guevara which they present has no sense. Not only is there no animation, or life, but still no logic. It is outside all logic. It is not possible to refer to Guatemala, or Venezuela, or Bolivia without saying what is happening, what it is necessary to do. These are simple references to try to show that Guevara still exists to prove that he is living. The world press says then: it is undoubted that Guevara is alive since he keeps up with events. The world press says: it is undoubted that Guevara is alive because the references that he makes, refer to events of a little time back.

Castro and Imperialism wish to hinder Trotkyist authority in Guatemala. For that they did everything that they could and amongst other things assassinated Francisco Amado Granados.

But "Guevara" in order to gain authority has to say "Yon Sosa is among the revolutionaries who are now arising". The person who wrote this letter has read badly the paper that they have given him. He presents Yon Sosa as a person who has just appeared. He does not give the date of his birth. He presents him as someone who has just appeared as from now. Thus whoever reads it realises that this person does not know what has happened in Guatemala, because Yon Sosa fought for a number of years, he did not arise in revolution just now. He appeared before, a year and a half before Fidel Castro attacked him. Thus attacked he has been reborn today in this letter, because already the Trotskyist influence is very great.

It has just been communicated to us that the discourse made by Fidel Castro after the Tri-Continental has been heard in Mexico from Havana, but the attacks against the MR 13th November and Trotskyism have been suppressed. If we were pestilential, we would continue to be so and much more so after a year. However, it appears that we are regenerated. It is true that Fidel Castro can no longer blow his nose at us. He ignores, he eliminates the attacks. This means that the development of the Guevarist and Trotskyist tendency in Cuba is very profound.

This means that a very tense stage of the political revolution in Cuba exists in which it is necessary to intervene as already our section is in process of doing. This letter is also a reply to our section, for it has the objective of diminishing the authority of the Trotskyists.

The bourgeoisie publishes this letter in its papers, because it is in a united front with the intentions expressed in this document; it wishes to confront the revolutionary tendency. There in this letter can be found a new expression of a very intense political struggle, of fractions, within the team itself of Fidel Castro. There is a struggle of fractions and tendencies.

Stalin falsified many things much more important than this. He falsified the text of Lenin, his positions, his policy, but it is the policy of Stalin which has died and the Trotskyists are living. When they act thus it is because little time remains to them. When they have to resort to such lies, to such historic mystification, it is because the historic time which remains to them is very short. We are no longer in the stage of Stalin, at the stage of retreat, but at that of the advance of the revolution. And they go out to try to cut this concrete organic advance of the revolutionary tendency. That is why there is such a mystification.

The Capitalist press also has an interest to maintain this mystification, and publishes this letter, because it is in a united front with them against the revolutionary tendency, it is the same attitude which at the time of the crimes of Stalin, was shared by the world bourgeoisie. All its literature justified them, as necessary to the defence of the fatherland, it concealed them. The world press publishes today this letter and opens its columns to it because this letter defends their common interest against the revolution.

They assassinated Trotsky many years ago as also other Trotskyists throughout the world, but today it is Trotskyism which is developing throughout the world. The programme, the policy, the objectives and the ideas which develop today in the world are Trotskyist, not from Stalin, Kruschev, Mao, Fidel Castro or Guevara but Trotskyist. The one closest to us is Guevara and at present the Chinese wing which tries to impel the revolution.

This "Guevara affair" is going to last for a very short time. The revolution has more strength than all of them. Trotsky said: "the revolution will open all the archives". And that was in 1937. We follow the examples of our masters, of Trotsky, and we say "The archives are already open, the action of centrism is to muddle the papers up, but already the papers are in order despite this muddle."

A revolutionary such as Guevara who has shown his sensibility in advancing in the revolution, a man who has gone on forming himself since the nationalist Cuban policy, up to the world revolution, cannot be presented as a cramped type, a limited person whose brain power is limited. It is absurd, absurd. The Guevara who launched appeals in Algeria, in China, in the course of his interview with Babu in Zanzibar, who appealed to the world permanent revolution, is not the Guevara they present with an insignificant political conclusion, appealing to defend himself, weeping, making it appear that Capitalism has enormous strength. This is how they present him in this text! Whereas in his last conscious stage he showed that the strength was on the side of the world revolution and not on the side of Capitalism. This document is the antithesis of Guevara, it has nothing to do with him. Neither in Cuba nor in the rest of the world, can such a document be accepted. The only people who are able to write such a text are those who have an interest in surviving as centrists. This journalist has no other notion of life than that which the 'powerful ones' give; in this case the centrists, the Soviet bureaucracy and in part Capitalism. They jump

on to the bandwagon of Fidel Castro and use him. for they have no other way of feeling themselves able to grapple with the revolution. They think that it is in this way that it is possible to contain it. But they are only attached by the little finger, they have little strength and will collapse rapidly, very rapidly.

J. POSADAS

17. 4. 1967.

Resolutions of the VIII World Congress of the IV International

Salute of the VIII World Congress to the letter of the Cuban comrades to the Cuban Communist Party

April 1967 **Cde. J. Posadas**

Adopted as a resolution

The letter of the Cuban comrades has been written directly under the impulse of the revolution, of the security of the International. This is the decisive confirmation, indisputable confirmation that the political revolution is the centre of the Cuban revolution, that the political revolution in China is liberating the oppressed and repressed forces of the world revolution.

Our comrades write in the most terrible conditions that can be imagined, but despite terrible conditions, they have the capacity for initiative and intervention in time. They have not awaited the International leadership, they have taken the initiative. And this initiative shows that even if they are living events in a rudimentary form, because they do not have means, they are living politically. For this reason they have capacity for initiative, if not they would not do it. Without a political life, there is no capacity for initiative to intervene in the process. This is the example for all the sections of the International. Even a single comrade can do this. Hence the example, when we correct the editorial of the European Marxist Review, on the construction of the European sections. A single comrade, secure, convinced, with the will to action can do what the cuban comrades have done, because he reflects the dispersed, inorganic disorganised will and he can concentrate and express it. The attitude of the Cuban Section is going to lead to a fusion in a united front with the Guevarists.

At the same time it shows the historic correctness of the International that it does not allow itself to be thrown down or respond aggressively or in a sectarian way to the attacks of Fidel Castro. Even in conditions in which we are accused of being pestilential and rotten, even in circumstances in which we are compared with the assassins of history, we say: Castro is a revolutionary; in his head, there is a terrible confusion. What it is necessary to do, is to place this confusion in order.

This letter confirms our historic judgement and this is the logical attitude to function properly. All the comrades must take the example; a single comrade convinced and certain, with the will to action can do what the Cubans are doing; not because he is capable

Without the Party we are nothing. With the Party we are everything.
TROTSKY

The substitution of the bourgeois state by the proletarian state is not possible without violent revolution.
LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL
NO. 157 4th Friday of April 1972 PRICE 3p

Viva the continuing offensive of the NLF and North Vietnamese Workers State to throw Imperialism out of Vietnam

For a discussion in the factories, in the trade unions and workers parties to organise the opposition to the Industrial Relations Act

Resolution of the political bureau of the R.W.P.(T) British Section IV International

The application of the Industrial Relations Act against the TGWU, and against the work to rule of the railwaymen marks a new stage in the advance towards civil war in the country. The capitalist class applies the act, inspite of all the risks, and in the worst possible conditions for them, to try to maintain its internal cohesion, to impede the development of defeatist currents within itself. From a social point of view, even more than from an economic one, it cannot afford to allow another victory like that of the miners, and so it tries to take what profit it can from the lack of preparation of the workers leadership to impose the hard line. It shows that capitalism, as in Italy and France is preparing to reply to the masses as it is already doing in Ireland, with repression and armed force. And for this reason once more all the bourgeoisie of Europe are following with anxiety the outcome of this latest confrontation between the Tory government and the British working class.

But this is 1972 in a world where there is Vietnam, where there is the struggle in Ireland, where there are 14 Workers States, 16 Revolutionary States, where as an expression of the process of partial regeneration the Soviet Union intervenes to help the establishment of Bangladesh, where it arms and stimulates the offensive of the Vietcong, and the North Vietnamese Workers State to throw US Imperialism and its puppet regime out of South Vietnam. This is the world situation, in which the Tory government using its parliamentary majority tries to impose the Industrial Relations Act. But as its parliamentary majority is not an expression of a social majority, because it was elected after the massive abstention of the Labour vanguard, it isn't going to be able to impose a hard line. It has the laws, the courts, the army and the police to do it, but these are not the elements which decide. What decides is the social authority of the ruling class, the authority over the middle layers of society, and its own confidence, and internal cohesion. And this it clearly doesn't have. Its disagreements over Ireland, over the Common Market, over whether to make concessions or apply repression, all express the disintegration of the British bourgeoisie in front of the advance of the world revolution, and the revolution in Britain and Ireland.

In the few days since the invoking of the law one thing has become absolutely clear; the masses are not going to accept it, are not going to be intimidated into stopping their struggle. But on the contrary, this is going to serve as a stimulus to the elevation of the political level of the struggle. Every big strike is going to challenge the authority of the government. The trade union leadership will be intimidated, as the railway leadership has been in the last days, because it never bargained for this type of confrontation, and it is not prepared for it either politically, theoretically or from the point of view of its own militant construction. Even though other trade union leadership are likely to react more firmly than Sidney Green and company, none of them can be expected to organise the struggle at the level the situation demands, and so the trade union militants, the militants of the L.P. and C.P. must begin the organisation of the struggle against this law and the capitalist government, which passed it, by massive class actions, strikes, demonstrations, factory occupations leading towards a general strike, without waiting for the leadership.

Thus this action of the government is going to stimulate the advance of left currents in the T.U.'s, L.P. and C.P. The workers affected by the law have shown their contempt for it. The dockers of Liverpool continue to black the Heaton hauliers in spite of the court increasing the fine on the TGWU from 5,000 to £55,000, inspite of all the appeals of Jack Jones. The Southern Railwaymen responded to the provocation of the management by walking out, after the court had ruled that they must work normally, while several union branches and the Conference of the A.U.E.W. have called to the Transport Workers Union not to pay the fine. The opposition to these laws, is going to be made a centre around which the working class is going to concentrate to express all its anti-capitalist hatred, overcome the limitations and timidity of its leadership, put itself in contact with the petit bourgeoisie, and show itself capable of defeating the reactionary and repressive measures of the capitalist government. It is expressing the same sentiment as the Irish masses, who maintain the free areas, the same as the Vietnamese masses, expressing that they want a change of regime and end to the arrogance and barbarity of the capitalist system.

All those leaderships in the TU's now who feel insecure, who are conciliators in a situation, which allows no more conciliation, all those who do not feel impelled to respond to the combative sentiment of the base whatever the cost, are going to tend to move aside, leaving the field clear for the advance of those who are more genuine representatives of the class. Thus this act is going to act much more as a blow against the apparatus of the trade union than at the base. Already Feather has acknowledged this when he said; "This act lets loose the militants and catches the moderates, it is a lovely piece of legislation for the ultra-left." When the TUC leadership says that the unions should go into the Industrial Relation Court to plead their case, it shows that it is preparing to try to resist the capitalist law on the capitalists own legal grounds: and this is doomed to failure. The only way to resist the law, to defeat it and to pass to a more elevated level of struggle, is by mobilising all the anti-capitalist feeling which exists in the country, by class actions. This is what permitted the miners to win, and this is what has to be done from this moment. There must be discussion in all the factories, in mass meetings to discuss how to respond to this attack on the working class, to discuss the weak response, which the unions and workers parties have given, and to draw the organisational conclusions from this, and to discuss how to help the Liverpool dockers, who are showing the way to defeat this act.

We appeal for immediate mass assemblies in the factories, making the factories function as organisms of the class, which substitute for the lack of

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The atomic war which imperialism is preparing is the world triumph of the Socialist Revolution

J. Posadas 15-8-71

There are communist comrades who declare "It is necessary to avoid the atomic war, it is necessary to demonstrate that it can be avoided". But what it is necessary to demonstrate is not the inevitability of the atomic war, but how to prevent capitalism defending itself, when it is about to be thrown out. This is what has to be demonstrated. Nothing more. Marx analysed and proved that "No regime abandons history without using all the means at its disposal to defend itself". There is no other example in history which contradicts this. None. The human organism also does not abandon life without having used all the means at its disposal to survive. The human organism does not renounce life without having made before the greatest efforts to survive. The human organism is not conscious. The capacity to think gives to it a part of consciousness, but not completely, because still its functioning is determined by nature, for which our consciousness is not yet a substitute. In human society yes, it has succeeded completely. Capitalism will not abandon history, will not allow the revolution to advance in such a way as to suffocate it, without first defending itself.

This is what it is necessary to discuss. It is not possible to discuss in the abstract. Capitalism can defend itself, and will defend itself, because it is not a problem either of good will or of understanding, or of sentiment, or of fear. Capitalism is afraid. One sector abandons the camp of the atomic war to contain it. But this is not the capitalist system, it is simply a sector. As a system capitalism is preparing the atomic war.

How does this express itself? In a centralised form; all science, literature, the technical capacity of capitalism is directed to the preparation of atomic arms. For what? It is the atomic war! What are they doing on the moon? It is part of the preparation for the atomic war.

We must explain to the communists, not in the abstract as they say; "is it possible or is it not possible." We must explain concretely what is the historic attitude of the classes, and the attitude of the classes, and the attitude, precise and concrete of this capitalism, in which technique, science, the economy, society, literature are all directed to demonstrate the necessity that capitalism continues to live, preparing in the meantime, the technical capacity for the atomic war. At the same time the fear of capitalism disappearing, causes splits within it. But the sector, which wants to withdraw, which seeks to negotiate with the Soviets is not the sector which decides. What decides is the one, which has the possibility of using atomic arms.

In the course of the full discussion of European unity, of friendship with the USSR, the French have launched another atomic bomb. The British in Belfast, with their massacres, show that not only do they not abandon their historic function, but they do not intend to abandon even Ireland. The Yanks are massacring in Vietnam. If they withdraw from Latin America, for example, it is because they do not have the strength to support themselves, they withdraw not because they have decided to allow the atomic war to be lost, but to re-order their strategy—as can be seen in the fact, that they continue to dedicate their budget above all to the war, atomic arms continue to exist, the search for the atomic war continues, and the world repression continues. If the world repression of Imperialism is reduced, it is because it does not have the strength to carry out that policy,

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The atomic war which imperialism is preparing . . . .

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because the revolution is stronger, and the lack of confidence, fear, pessimism are introduced in the ranks of Imperialism and divides its concentrated forces. It divides them! The various sectors fight among themselves, hoping to see more clearly, or to win time, or take up a different position, or seek to continue to go on shooting. But there is a sector, which wants, which is conscious, that it is necessary to launch the atomic war, which is the CIA. Hence changes come, but the CIA remains unalterable. The CIA and the Pentagon, the two together are the two organisms with the same interest, the same boss. Hence it is necessary to demonstrate to the communists, how it might prove impossible to prevent Imperialism from using the atomic war to defend itself.

There is only one way of preventing it, to make the revolution, and to take power. If it was possible to make the revolution, and to take power without leading to atomic war, it would be simple, and we would have done it. The communists would already have done it. If the communists do not take power, it is because they fear, precisely the atomic reaction of Imperialism. But with the policy, which they are making, they are giving breathing space to Imperialism, to arm itself with more atomic weapons. Why don't they take power in Italy and France? If they took power what could happen? NATO would come. They would send aeroplanes, and ships. Also in Vietnam it sent them, and now they return—those who can return, the others fall. Imperialism is ready to intervene at any moment in which it can, to contain the revolution. If it does not intervene more, it is because the revolution contains it. Now Imperialism can put up with things once, twice, five, ten, twenty times, but there are limits to this. One way to measure the limit, is the internal crisis of American capitalism. This shows the maximum level of the crisis. But also the greatest crisis, like this present crisis, which expresses itself in the trip of Nixon to China, does not diminish in any way the atomic programme, the atomic armaments, the atomic strategy. Why does it do this? If it was ready to renounce atomic war, or could stop itself, this would be seen then in American investments in armaments, which would diminish, and in interior changes in the United States, in a policy, which would show effectively that Imperialism has abandoned the atomic war. Only workers power can do this. The Imperialists say "yes, I am not going to launch the war, I do not want it, I am against, the atomic war is a barbarism." And meanwhile they prepare the atomic war. One of the essential arguments, which prevents Imperialism from launching the atomic war is their fear of disappearing, above all, because it sees Soviet superiority, and secondly, because it thinks: and after the atomic war, what then? Will capitalism survive? The masses of the United States have demonstrated now that in the war they will smash capitalism. This introduces, and deepens pessimism in the American ruling class, in American Imperialism. It increases also the pessimism in the sectors, who depend on, or believe they depend on, or believe they can live on a continuation of the alliance, or of competition, or of co-existence with the Workers States. The other sectors are those who determine, are those who invest in the war. 70% of the American economy depends on the war apparatus. And the American war apparatus is not only constituted of atomic arms, it is the whole world strategy, the trips to the moon, the American fleet in the world, the economic aid, the support to the counter revolution. All this together is their programme. If the Americans were ready to renounce atomic war, it would mean that they would accept a competition with the Workers State. And it is clear they do not accept; Chile is a small country, which has little strength, it has to confront the Americans, and now they deprive it of credits, and sabotage commercial enterprises. Peru and Bolivia are small countries, Yankee Imperialism tries to subdue and crush them, to prevent them giving an example, and they develop with measures towards Workers States. Thus it is necessary to discuss.

How does the state of mind of Yankee Imperialism express itself? Its consciousness and readiness for the future shows itself in the measures which it takes. What is the greatest concern of American Imperialism? Atomic preparation. How is this expressed? In the fact that the greatest expenditure of the budget of the United States, the greater part of the scientific capacity of the United States is entirely dedicated to war preparation. The trip to the moon has nothing to do with discovery or with knowledge of the origin of the moon. They go to study the origin of the moon; but what do they gain from this? Immediately in a perspective of 10-20-30 and 40 years what importance has the moon for the economy and production? It has no importance. But the expenditures amount to milliards of dollars. Why do they go there now? They go there to study what military utilisation they can make of the moon to sustain American Imperialism. There are no other fundamental interests apart from this. There are other secondary interests—secondary today, tomorrow they will be decisive—among them the search for an answer to the question of this society, of the earth, on the nature and the origin of the moon, and this then implies the question; from where do we come, where do we go, and in the meantime what do we do? Well, the communist comrades must answer this. Let them show that this is not the case.

The Americans have easily spent 25000 million dollars studying the moon, and about 70,000 millions in Vietnam. It is sufficient to eliminate hunger and misery in the world, and to inaugurate plans of industrial production in each backward country. Why not do it? And why dont they also do it in the United States? There is an increase in investments and in production, but who consumes?

The devaluation of the dollar is a direct result of the situation of crisis in the United States, determined by the fact, that they cannot increase internal consumption.

The capital, which Yankee Imperialism has, and which it can invest, it cannot invest internally. Hence it seeks to export more, not to increase internal consumption. If American Imperialism felt itself secure, it would increase internal consumption. It would invest for consumption on the internal market. If on the other hand, it is concerned more to increase export and to impede imports, as it is doing with the tax of 10% after devaluation of the dollar, which does not come from present conditions, it is because it does not have the strength, the conditions, the social capacity to increase consumption in the United States in proportion, to the extent of its needs for investment and profit, because it needs to increase profit as a function of the expenditure in Vietnam, which is a completely unproductice expense. And it sees that socially in the United States the revolution has already begun. It has begun in the form in which it could begin in the objective situation, the concrete present situation; resistance of the masses to the plans of the war of American Imperialism. This is the way in which the revolution begins.

Imperialism seeks to win time. If it had been able to launch the war it would have done so. If it had been able to crush the revolution it would have done it. It tried to smash Cuba, and the result is that the existence of Cuba influences the whole of Latin America. If it had been able to smash Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, it would have done it. The result is that they have to leave it, and they are seeking the way to withdraw without being seen. The North American people is against the war. In the North American Army, they are publishing sixty journals, all against the war! The soldiers refuse to fight, and they consult among themselves on whether or not to obey orders. Groups of soldiers pass directly over to the Vietnamese as "prisoners"! They go to the other side—60 thousand deserters! The Americans see all this, they realise that they have no possiility of resolving the prolem, nor of making economic competition, nor social competition. Hence they prepare the war. Otherwise it would be an inert regime. The affirmation that "no regime leaves history without resorting to all means to remain" means that Imperialism is the result of the functioning of the capitalist system. It is not only the result of the mentality of one, four, five, fifteen people. The capitalist system has created these types, and these types now create, and develop the capitalist system, whose life depends on all this. The capitalists dominate the economy, are the ones who decide. The others are accessory elements.

It is now clearer that the "Mcnamara business" is part of an internal struggle, it does not reduce in any way their weakenss. Evidently the policy of Nixon conflicts in a series of cases with the small group of generals who determine, conflicts directly with them, because Nixon tries to survive. The generals have their hands ready to press the button, because they are those who represent with more realism than Nixon the capitalist system. It is to them that the Soviets at times address themselves, seeking to deepen the division between diverse sectors. They have success for a day or a week, but this does not determine the course of the process. The capitalist system cannot abandon the scene without resorting to all possible measures to survive. The communists believe that one thing is Belfast, another Chile; and the Middle East is something else. They act as if the human sentiment of capitalism was against all these massacres. It was not against the bombing of Hiroshima, nor against those of Vietnam, the Middle East, or against repression in Belfast. It is necessary to record that at Pearl Harbour, it destroyed a fleet to justify the war.

The Kennedy sector was 60% for the atomic war, for the invasion of Cuba. Now it is for the liberty of Cuba, and to postpone the atomic war, not to eliminate it. To postpone it! This shows the crisis, which exists within American Imperialism, the fear, and in an indirect form, the enormous power of the North American masses, who without a party, without a revolutionary trade union have introduced a very great development of pessimism into American Imperialism, and have attracted the support of the proletarian masses, still not organised. Even if not organised, they've attracted their support. Without the sympathy, without the indirect support, and at times, direct support of the North American worker masses, the petit bourgeoisie would not have the decision thus to confront American Imperialism. The petit bourgeoisie are representatives of the power of the American proletariat, who still have not animated themselves to intervene. A series of movements, of blows, impels them to intervene, in such a way that it seems to happen by surprise. Just as every general strike, in the form, is spontaneous.

It is necessary to discuss with the communists, arguing. Why the atomic war?

This does not mean desiring to make the war so that Imperialism may disappear, but to see reality. When there is an illness, an infection, we say: "there is illness, infection?" We cannot conceal it. It is necessary to diagnose in order

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longer. At the end of the century we will be able to reach an average of 90 years old, at least.

All this signifies that once nature is dominated, we can make it change. Today we are still submitted to it. Nature does not know what it does, it cannot think, and has no consciousness. Her relationship are those of her coming to the world, but tomorrow we are going to be able to say: "Why are things this way?" Today this is not yet possible, because first we must dominate society, and then only dedicate ourselves to nature.

Then the problem of death will no longer exist as such; it will not be posed in terms of anguish, but as a consequence: we use a thing, and it wears away, and we must use another one. Why? Because things are like this, because nature still has more strength than we have in this respect, but not for all other aspects. This is why we must first of all resolve the social problem, eliminate the class-struggle, eliminate capitalism, eliminate the bureaucracy, make the world a whole. Then the human capacity is going to elevate itself millions of times, with the same means as we have today. Then humanity will do what the Soviets are just beginning to do: go on other planets, and see what is happening there. Already the Soviets are now posing: that if one does prove that life exists on Mars, then it will be possible to envisage the relationships with human beings in a rational way. They do not talk of human beings, because they may take another form, because life can have another form. They talk of rational beings on another planet. All this confirms absolutely what I have posed.

Your preoccupations are unjust, for there is no reason for you to have them. In the first place you have texts, which exist; secondly with a small amount of cultural preoccupation on your behalf, you could find the solutions. On the other hand you seek a refuge in an individualist attitude. Even if it is not expressed in an individualist way, it is individualist. You appear as afraid with a sentiment of introversion, instead of turning yourself towards the world, of seeing how we progress, how humanity progresses. It is in this way that consciousness can base itself on the progress of humanity, and see that there is no fear of death but, that one goes, and another comes. Your preoccupation reflects a whole individualistic selfishness. If you had an objective preoccupation of impelling, you would not feel like this. You would preoccupy yourself with how we advanced, how we progress. Your attitude conceals a background of selfish and conservative sentiments on the whole, otherwise you would not say these things; humanity is not preoccupied with all this.

Humanity struggles, progresses and advances, it does not preoccupy itself with knowing what is going to happen tomorrow. It feels that tomorrow there is going to be another society, in which it will be able to decide with science and technique, and envisage the way to act. Today nature imposes. Tomorrow it will not work the same way, it is us who are going to impose. The problem is not that "death can be victorious over us, can triumph". NO! The problem is still the one of lack of means, of insufficient relationships, and also that nature still has more forces than we have. (although even that is relative) It is relative in the sense that it can still dispose individually of each one of us, but socially it can no longer.

Therefore the problem is not of tomorrow's security. We are sure of what tomorrow is going to be like. Today nature still has more forces than we have, but it is a relative force. It is this way that the human being has the force to go to Venus, to Mars, already it feels capable. He begins to dominate the planetary system, the physical planetary system. And if already he does this, it is that he is invincible. But today we must resolve the problems on the earth, i.e. the society. And it is quite certain that we can do it, whereas we can only resolve partially the problems of nature. The sentiments that we must create and elaborate are confidence, and the assurance that we can resolve everything. It is not possible to lack assurance, to be afraid, because that means conservatism and individualism. It is not possible to be preoccupied with death. If one dies the others remain, for progress never stops.

J. POSADAS 7 December 1971

Salute of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) British Section of IV International to the South Yemeni masses, Government, and the N.L.F. on the smashing of the imperialism inspired invasion

TEXT DELIVERED TO THE EMBASSY OF THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF SOUTH YEMEN

In the name of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) the British Section of the IV International, we salute with tremendous revolutionary joy, the South Yemeni government, the N.L.F., and the Yemeni masses on the defeat of the Imperialist inspired invasion by N. Yemen and Saudi Arabia. Imperialism has tried to overthrow the revolutionary government of S. Yemen, and has been defeated. The role played by the South Yemeni masses, organised as they are, in armed militias, has been crucial in this action. This is an historical lesson to be drawn by all the Revolutionary States such as Chile, Bangladesh, Tanzania etc. While advances are being made in these countries through nationalisations and expropriation of Imperialism, there is an increasing threat of either an imperialist attack, or an imperialist inspired coup, and the answer to these dangers is the organisation of the masses, the arming of the masses; only in this way can the defeat of these attacks be assured.

We salute the comrades of South Yemen on the organisation of these militias, which have proved that they are the most effective means of defence of S. Yemen, which must be developed so that eventually they replace the structure of the professional army. We salute the existence of all the local popular councils and the important role, which they play, but these too must be developed so that they become the sovereign body of the country, functioning as the soviets did in the first seven years of the Soviet Union, functioning in a political way, discussing all the problems, and applying the conclusions directly. This does not eliminate the function of the N.L.F., but the N.L.F. has to elevate its political function to form itself into a marxist party with a bolshevik functioning, which intervenes in the soviets, leading them by giving the best ideas, the best proposals. This is the way forward to attract all the masses, and to utilise all the forces of the masses. We appeal to the cadres of the N.L.F. to read and discuss the documents of J. Posadas on the construction of the Workers States, and from the Workers State to Socialism.

We also hear with great joy of the latest nationalisations in S. Yemen of the hotels and cinemas. The superiority of the nationalised economy has been illustrated on numerous occasions. N. Vietnam facing a constant bombardment over years and years has maintained a great economic advance. N. Korea after being razed to the ground in the Korean war has surpassed its previous economic level, because of the structure of the economy, and the Soviet Union in 50 years has come from being a backward semi-colonial country to the most powerful in the world. Imperialism has actively under-developed the so-called third world, and the way to advance is only possible through the nationalised economy, no capitalist solution is possible. And to take a non-capitalist road it is necessary to make links with the Workers States. We salute all the agreements which S. Yemen has made for economic and military aid from the Workers States, but it is necessary to go further in this sense, taking the 15 year agreement between the USSR and Iraq as an example.

It is necessary to appeal to the Soviet Union to send its air force, its armed forces to defend S. Yemen. Today the Workers States intervene differently than in the past, they still intervene bureaucratically, but now it is a policy, which favours the world revolution. Bangladesh is an expression of this, where they intervened directly against US Imperialism. It is necessary to call on all the Workers States to send all types of aid, specialised personnel, doctors, technicians, engineers etc. for now it is possible to accept this aid without in any way being submitted to the limited or bureaucratic policy of the leaderships of the Workers States.

But the best way to protect the South Yemen revolution is to develop the revolution throughout the Middle East, and particularly in the Gulf. It is not just a question of supporting guerrilla groups, but of making appeals to the oil proletariats of Bahrain and Saudi Arabia, for example giving a programme of nationalisations under workers control. It is necessary to appeal to all the masses of Saudi Arabia, and of Jordan to overthrow the Imperialist puppets of Fisal and Hussein, and to do as they have done in South Yemen. But the masses of the Gulf must feel more the weight of S. Yemen as a revolutionary force, they must see the intervention of the masses, the proletarian democratic functioning of the organisms of the masses, the independance of the TU's, an intense political life of the masses. All this has to be developed in S. Yemen.

The N.L.F. must appeal to the workers movement, the communist, socialist and labour parties, to the left christian democrats, to the trade unions of Western Europe, to make strikes, occupation and demonstrations in the event of a new attack on S. Yemen. Make an appeal to the western workers movement to struggle for the expropriation of the big imperialist oil industries without compensation under workers control as a concrete measure of support to the Arab masses, and also as a fundamental blow at the structure of capitalist in the metropolitan countries.

This is the appeal, which we launch to the leadership, and to the masses of S. Yemen, at the same time as we express all our revolutionary solidarity and our joy as seeing the smashing of the Imperialist inspired invasion.

Viva the defeat of the Imperialist invasion.

Viva the advance of South Yemen towards a Workers State.

Political Bureau of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) British Section of the IV International

18. 4. 71

The atomic war . . . .

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to intervene. And to diagnose it, is necessary to see reality, not to hide it, not to fear it, nor to believe that to see it, means to inaugurate a disaster. But it is necessary to see it. We do not want the war in Vietnam, but there is the war in Vietnam. We do not want the crisis in the Middle East, but there is the crisis in the Middle East, and they kill, and they assassinate. Then it is necessary to see it.

Fundamentally, when the communists say "we can avoid the nuclear war" it expresses a fear, an historic fear, a feeling of smallness. To admit that the atomic war is inevitable, makes them feel small in front of forces, which surpass them. This happens, because they were not prepared for this task. If they were prepared, they would see it, and say "No, it is coming". But as they are not prepared, they do not know what will happen tomorrow, and they are afraid, afraid of confronting a future which they do not know. It is a continuation of the fear, which in all the struggles against the capitalist system, is determined by not knowing, what will happen tomorrow, because there is not a party, there is not a programme, there is not a preparation, there is not a discipline, there is not the organisation to confront the capitalist system. But there is the organisation to dispute power with the capitalist system through parliament. Then this is the way in which they reason. The Soviets are losing their fear somewhat, because they are forced to, and they see concretely the preparation of the war. As they are the ones who have the power, and the answer to the war depends on them, then they have to see it. It is not a logical, social reasoning, but a reasoning that is overwhelmingly military, because they have a social fear of marxist reasoning. They do not reason in a marxist way. When they say "the atomic war is the end of Imperialism", it is because they admit the possibility of the atomic war. The single fact of admitting the possibility means, that they recognise the existence of the causes which lead to it. What are they? How can they be analysed? What is the behaviour of Imperialism? What is the significance of the present crisis of the dollar? Is it a destruction of the capitalist system? Is it a product of bad financial calculation, or of a bad exchange system? What does it mean? In part they say it "It is the war in Vietnam". Good, and why does Imperialism run this risk? The money which sustains the basis of the capitalist system runs this risk? Why such a risk? And why does the world capitalist system accept it? All the capitalist countries are committed to the dollar, because they know that the fall of Yankee Imperialism is the fall of them all. Hence they allow this game of the North American currency, not for Yankee economic industrial power, which it does not have in the same proportion as before. It has atomic power, but from the economic and industrial point of view its power is not in the same proportion. It is true that they have to devalue the dollar to compete with the Germans, with the English, with the French. But they have to devalue it, because of the expenses caused by the war in Vietnam.

It is necessary to give many arguments, to argue. The communists see that capitalism makes the war, but they think they can prevent it. But not because they believe it, but because they do not see another force. If they saw an organised force, directed systematically to take power, they would lose the fear of seeing reality as it is. On the other hand they conceal it, and base themselves on a perverse human sentiment of capitalism, not on a human solid, fraternal feeling. Capitalism has human sentiments, but perverse ones. Then it is necessary to see reality as it is. The mentality and the perverse sentiment of capitalism is the result of its relations to property. Its life is this. They do not know how to make another. Take a bourgeois away from his function of possessing money, and he remains an idiot. Take the administrators and all these people away from their functions and they do not understand anything, know nothing. All these "executives" are people to execute! All! They are all complete idiots. They cannot see the world outside this ambience. Never in the history of humanity has there been a regime (not even in the feudal epoch, which did not have the technique of today) so mediocre and so backward as capitalism. If one makes the comparison with technique and science, one sees that they can reach the moon, examine it, seeking to find out about its origins, they are not afraid of landing on the moon, but they are incapable of forseeing what will happen tomorrow here on earth. Hence they land on the moon. The Americans are incapable of forseeing what will happen tomorrow. These in Vietnam expected: "We invade, and in a few months we will liquidate everything..." They do not know what will happen tomorrow, because they have the desperation to win the war, and to continue to conquer as capitalism. And who guarantees this? The North American masses have already demonstrated that neither before, during or after the war will they sustain it. Imperialism is decrepit! It is a handfull of American generals who control the destiny of the capitalist system. Just a handful of generals! This cannot be decided only in the United States, it is true. But the survival of the capitalist system is decided in the military plans of American Imperialism. The American military plans are the ones which decide.

But it is necessary to speak with these comrades, arguing well, showing that our policy is not passive. We do not sit down to await the atomic war, but we do not expect anything from the policy of the Soviets, which tries to divide capitalism in such a way, as to make it impotent, weakening it so that it cannot make the atomic war. It is necessary to insist: it is a handful of generals who direct, and determine the behaviour and the life of the world capitalist system, a handful of generals who lead. If the opinion of these generals was "we are losing the war, let us get out", they would be killed, pulled out, and others would be put in. Do not doubt that this is the case.

J. POSADAS 15 August 1971.

EDITORIAL

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political life in the TU's and workers parties, for assemblies in all the places of work, and in the colleges, and universities to discuss how to beat this law, how to defend the assets of the trade unions, and how to get rid of the Tory government, and impose a Labour government that will respond to the anti-capitalist sentiments of the masses. There must be no payment of the £55,000 fine on the TGWU and no confiscation of union assets, the worker must see to this by organising defence committees to protect the union buildings, preventing the entry of bailiffs or policemen. If, during their strike, the miners supported by the engineering workers, were able to prevent anyone going into the great coke depot at Saltly inspite of a large force of police, they will certainly be able to protect unions buildings. Not a pencil to be confiscated by the government, no union official to be disciplined, not a penny of union funds to be touched; strikes, demonstrations, occupations, defence committees for this end.

In all the discussion in the factories and in the class organisations, the feeble response of the Labour left has to be discussed. The parliamentary left over Ireland, over the miners strike, and now over this N.I.R.C. ruling (Callaghan has said it is the law of the land and must be obeyed), have supported the right and done nothing. The parliamentary left of the LP is so insular, and reformist that they can see no alternative to capitalist laws, while the masses in Britain and Ireland are showing that they can make their own rules and laws, and impose them in their own class interest.

The struggle to defeat this law has to be linked with the struggle for a programme of demands to satisfy the needs of the masses. It is necessary to organise a general strike not just against these laws, but for all profits of automation to the workers, no factories to be closed, a 35 hour week in all industries, a workers plan of production based on the nationalisation without compensation and under workers control of the key sectors of the economy, linking this to the demand for the immediate withdrawal of troops and the end of internment in Ireland. This is the way the working class is going to attract the non-proletarian exploited masses, who will see the working class as a leadership, and will follow it. This is going to impel the advance of the new leadership in the LP, coming from the factories, from the middle layers in the LP and the TU's. The CP has to throw all its forces into helping the organisation of this General Strike, seeing its role as that of helping the British masses to construct their new leadership in the LP and TU's to take power.

The R.W.P.(T) British Section of the IV International appeals to the Labour, Communist and TU vanguard to support massively the one day general strike on May 1st, called by several TU organisations, making it with mass demonstrations, mass assemblies to prepare the organisation, and to formulate a programme for an unlimited general strike to throw out the Industrial Relations Act and the Tory government, and to stimulate the formation of a new left leadership in the Labour Party, so that the next Labour government will base itself on the working class, and advance in the destruction of capitalist system.

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The Church, as an ideological organ of the ruling class, sought to canalise and to submit to its dominion all the best in art, in science, in technology and in industry of its epoch. But, since it was a temporal power which did not have the necessary material basis, it clashed with objective developments, because it was an obstacle to the necessary scientific development of production.

Feudalism introduced its regime of private property, its system of production and increase in the productivity of labour. This is its justification in history. Notwithstanding all the barbarity which it was responsible for, feudalism was progress in society. Capitalism developed the productivity of labour and, through competition, diminished the time of necessary social labour for production, and hence arose a whole superstructure of ideas, of culture, of democracy, rights, knowledge and science. The Church never produced anyone who had five grams of intelligence for the development of society. Hence the Popes are all degenerated or inverted people, none of them had importance in the process of thought, production or distribution. They just appropriated. In the productivity of labour, which signifies the function of a class in history, the function of these people was nothing; in technology, nothing; in all aspects, nothing – notwithstanding, in the epoch itself in which the Church developed at the end of slavery and the beginning of feudalism, there was an increase of production and a superior technology was demanded. These people didn't intervene at all.

Hence all these objects which they have established in the Vatican are to express, to impede thought, and to crush competitors. Since they don't have any ideas and the world develops through ideas, they carried through a brutal persecution of ideas. The height of St Peter's is against ideas. It is aimed to crush, to show the Church as omnipotent in the dispute with ideas and with human beings. All the space of the Church shows the absence of reasoning. It is just a vast space surrounded by many columns. If there was any reasoning, none of this would be necessary, nor the walls painted with puppets which is a decoration made to crush thought and sentiment, to prevent anyone from thinking.

J. POSADAS **October** 1972

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THE APPASSIONATA OF BEETHOVEN AND THE FORMATION OF COMMUNIST SENTIMENTS.

J. POSADAS 19–5–74

The Appassionata, like other works by Beethoven, should be played and felt with a sentiment of human fraternity, affection and love, love towards humanity. It should be played with a feeling and passion for all objects, for all things, for all the actions which have impelled humanity, including love between man and woman. One cannot play the Appassionata and other works of Beethoven with a feeling of defeat, catastrophe, grief or bitterness. This does not correspond. The Appassionata, like the 9th Symphony is a moving expression of those things to which Beethoven could not give a political significance. He gave them a musical significance, and a significance for human action. This was the function of the artist. Marx was responsible for the politics. They are the expression in music of the vehemence, the emotion, and the love which Marx felt for humanity. Beethoven expressed all this through music.

The Appassionata is a dissertation which is not complete, because it has aspects of an amorous nature, of fantasy, but in its depth it expresses the feeling of fraternity, of human love. It is not the selfish love, the conservative love of him and her, but the objective love which, for a stage in history – particularly in the stage of Beethoven – was expressed through the love of the couple, expressed in the love between human beings.

The development of the struggles of science, of revolution, show that love overcame the conservative egoism of the couple, and was extended to humanity, which was the source of the greatest works of history. The love of the couple in itself is not the source of production and of the progress of humanity ; it is enclosed in narrow egoism.

On the other hand, the love of humanity, which includes the love of the couple, allows the ideas to arise, gives the basis of understanding, of knowledge, of human relations. The possible triumph of the Popular Union in France, the triumph of the 'No'**in Italy, the trade union struggles, the progress of the Workers States, the recent discovery of new elements in the atom which they have made in the Soviet Union – these are new motives of love for humanity, of woman for man, of man for woman. Love in the couple must be one of the bonds in the whole configuration in which human relations develop. It is not a question of opposing the couple fo humanity, but of posing the couple as part of the whole chain of humanity. It is a link in the chain of humanity, which, without the others, does not live. If it is separated it collapses, because it lives conservatism, abstration and mental obstruction.

Lenin did not have the time to be concerned with these problems. He was

concerned with creating the instrument for the taking of power. The Appassionata of Beethoven is part of this. The Appassionata of Beethoven forms part of the links which formed the decision of Lenin, which was the love for humanity, to learn to be objective. Love for humanity includes the objectivity and the affection of sentiment of human procreation. This is the Appassionata.

MUSIC FORMS PART OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Music has another function than politics. Politics is concerned with reasoning, based on class struggle. Music is based on the tranquility of sentiments which express human relations. It is based and elaborates on it. It forms part of the class struggle, but it is on a superior plane and music, like all art, constitutes the superstructure. It does not reproduce itself through political reasoning, but through the reasoning of the sentiment which is guided by politics. Music must express the sentiments, the necessities and project the necessary perspective for humanity. Then it is a work of art. Otherwise it is a caricature which, even if the sound is agreeable, overwhelms part of the personality which is educated in the sensual individual relations of power. Hence world capitalism enjoyed the works of Wagner.

Music still plays a very superficial role. It is still not an instrument of the general education of humanity. It is a necessary creation of humanity. As work was necessary to live, music was also necessary. Humanity creates music in order not to be submitted to the brutality of nature, instruments or work. Hence it created music, and the creation of music was infinitely superior to the means of production of that period. It allowed the creation of superior human relations. As conditions only allowed communications within small groups these adopted and sustained music. In the future, in Socialism, music will be an accompaniment and perhaps in certain aspects an anticipation of what are going to be the affectionate relations of the human being. Affection will cease to be an individual action and will be a necessity of life. It will be a natural, dialectical order of existence. Affection today is taken as an exception, as a quality, as an action which is placed against brutality. Brutality and affection are the creations of the capitalist regime. In Socialism, affection will be the normal form of existence, in such a way that the conception of affection will not exist. One can imagine the quality of the music that will arise! Because music – in the last instance – has been the creation of small layers and of the need to express sentiments. Neither literature, nor any other form of art, can express the same quality as music. Music can mobilise, move and impose sentiments, help to establish and to find equilibrium. The best literature cannot do this, because music enters through the senses. Literature enters through the consciousness. The senses are more subject to everyday relations. When we have a form of Socialist life, in which culture will be the essential basis of progress, music will diminish in scale of importance, another superior music will emerge, as in literature, as in art.

Music is the creation of a stage of life. It did not arise at the same time as life itself, but it was created as part of human relations. Human relations

in the epoch of Beethoven were relations of imposition, power, kings, feudal power, slavery, and of private property. All music, like the music of Beethoven, is a sign of protest, of reaction against existing relations, and a communication of the future. It showed that the future is superior to what Beethoven could anticipate. Human fraternity will be infinitely superior to the 9th Symphony and to the Appassionata. But both are a guide to what is going to happen and they gave the level of what was going to happen.

All music – even that of Beethoven – expresses insecurity in the collective nature of humanity. but it is an individual expression which is very profound. Hence Beethoven is a musical genius, but inferior to the achievement of the Soviet masses in Stalingrad. There was no Appassionata, nor any music capable of expressing the sentiment of the masses in that moment. They were defending human civilisation, whilst the best music of Beethoven only expressed a trace of the human capacity which at that moment was being elaborated. Afterwards, there was the Paris Commune, 1905, 1917, the Russian Revolution, Stalingrad. Humanity expressed how it sought to convince, persuade, and had to kill with a sense of grief because it was necessary for progress. It did not kill to accumulate, assassinate, or impose. It killed because it was necessary to impose progress. There is no music capable of expressing this. Still, there is the music of the trade unions, the assemblies, the clamour of the population which comes out to take power. There is no music that can achieve this. Human sentiment is the warmest and the most profound that exists, and it is still necessary to create the conditions so that music able to interpret this, develops. Music and poetry will have a function superior to that period. For now we use it as we use science at its present level, with the class struggle and the means which we have at the present movement. If we could, we would use better means.

All music which responds to a necessity of history has to have sounds for the diapanous expression of the sentiments, interconnecting and communicating them to humanity. It must express the feelings of humanity. Private property develops in egotism. The development of human relations, the economy, science and technology repels this.

The human organism is a single structure, the human being is a monolithic structure whose central motor is the brain. The brain orders and directs all the functions of social relations. It has been constructed in accordance with the development of science, technology, the economy, and social relations, and has been advancing in the organisation of the sentiments and consciousness. The consciousness has been evolving in accordance with the possibilities of understanding nature and society. To the extent that the economy advances, science, technology, industry, automation, electronics, the capacity to think and reason, to educate and to order, the sentiments also advance. Beethoven developed in a stage in which the development of large-scale industry was only beginning. He could express a part of nature and human relations, but at a moment when these were not very developed. In music one cannot express human relations as in other arts, because intelligence does not enter as a conscious element. With ideas, on the other hand, intelligence operates, makes comparisons, sees, lives and penetrates reality.

It elaborates the sentiments with an abstract form of seeing life. Science has to take hold of nature and penetrate it, to be able to operate upon and change it, because it has to transform tangible facts. On the other hand, this

is not the case with music, which lies in the terrain of the sentiments. The music of Beethoven does not reflect the hatred of the conquered, or that it is necessary to conquer; it reflects the song, the necessity of progress, of human fraternity. This is not done with a feeling of vengeance, but understanding that this is how history is made. One cannot create progress with sentiments of vengeance, because then it creates conservatism and individualism, the substitution of one boss for another. Socialism suppresses all bosses, those outside and those within. Outside, in human relations; and within, in the form of thinking and of reasoning. The music of Beethoven is the one that approximates most of all to reasoning. It expressed already the course and the road which humanity was going to take. Hence the function of Beethoven is revolutionary. He produced his work to unite with the progress of humanity, not to entertain it, not to make a work of contemplation, but one of penetration, integration with humanity. The music of Beethoven is integrated with humanity, it arose from the most elevated aspects of human progress, of human fraternity. it served to create revolutionary ideas as the support, the base, the stimulus and the nourishing of revolutionary sentiments. Hence, every work of art, in every stage of history, forms part of revolutionary ideas, although it does not represent them in the form of programme, policy, objectives. It forms part of the creation of the sentiments, and this in its turn sustains, feeds and develops the capacity to stimulate revolutionary ideas, revolutionary intelligence.

Humanity is a unity. It has been created in the class struggle. Music is an expression, and in some aspects a very advanced one, of the relations of the class struggle. But with the existence of Marxism, music enters a lesser level of representation, because Marxism is the consciousness of the unconscious process of history.

There is no instrument superior to the organised consciousness of intelligence. Every intelligent composer has to be a Marxist, to be able to express in all its levels and depth the sentiments, the forms of expressing the sentiments through music; because the sentiments express themselves not in the form of abstraction but in the concrete, material form of existence. Our concern with these themes is undoubtedly united to the central objective which is the struggle for Communism, and immediately, in the political struggle for power, to organise the left in the Communist parties.

LIFE IS AS MONOLITHIC AS COMMUNISM, THE IDEAS AND THE PARTY

It is necessary to live the whole of life to be able to participate directly, to be able to feel, to be the organiser of history. There is no separated political, intellectual and musical life. Life is monolithic, as monolithic as as Communism, the idea and the Party. The monolithism of the objective is Communism. The Party is united monolithically in the policy towards Communism. A party is an objective, a monolithic idea. It does not have phases, nor facets, nor stages. It is monolithic in its intention. The political struggle gives the stages and the phases. In the political struggle, to have a complete dominion, it is necessary to live life. Life is a construction of humanity which was dependent on nature and on the economy. Humanity begins to have consciousness of itself only through a Socialist society. Now, today, it is in

the dawn of this consciousness because, through the Party and the Workers' States humanity acquires the confidence that it can resolve, decide and change everything which is necessary. The more we advance, progress and dominate life and human relations, the more we understand that human activity is part of the class struggle – not something separated, distant, or particular – the more we have the security that life is invincible. Life is not property, capital, and war. These are the accidents of history, they lasted some centuries. This was history and the human being was formed and structured according to the class struggle.

Beethoven is outstanding and deserves all our respect and affection, the most profound adhesion of the affectionate sentiments. Like all geniuses in history, instead of being attracted and submitted by the spirit, by the sentiment, by the will of possession, he felt himself affected and attracted by the sentiment of human fraternity, even at the cost and the risk of being a minority, or of being excluded from participation in society. Even in this way he shows that his work is necessary for humanity. These geniuses, in spite of not having a political influence, of being isolated, were in every way considered on the highest plane of human relations, even in this society, because they expressed a need of humanity. Music, like art, arose out of necessity, in which the human being showed that he was not a beast, that he was not imposed upon by private property and commerce. Hence our concern for art and, in particular, for Beethoven; in order to understand life, the monolithism of life, which impels because there already exists the necessary relations for it, the unification of humanity through fraternity. The social and economic conditions exist, so does human understanding. Hence our constant concern to understand all the problems of humanity: art, music, poetry, sport.

Beethoven realised in spite of massacres and wars that the human being had qualities that were superior to all this, that a process was coming in history in which the human sentiment was going to prevail over the brutality of the economy. He did not have an economic notion but he was an artist who viewed society with sentiment. This arose in the depth of sentiments and he expressed it musically. It is not intelligence which determines this, hence he did not make any political texts. Marx did this, but there are two necessary instruments, the artist and the revolutionary. The artist expresses with his music the depth of human sentiment, which was constructed in the process of conflict. But Beethoven saw that the depth of the nature of human relations led inevitably to the overcoming of conflict, violence, aggression, individualism, to the need for human fraternity. Hence the work of Beethoven is revolutionary, but it is limited because he achieved it through the bourgeois revolution – which, even being very profound – was one of individual relations of private property; but it already generated the basis to surpass private property. Beethoven saw into the depths of human relations and his music was an anticipation of this process. New stages were necessary in history to finish with private property and then the new musicians would come. The new musicians were the Bolsheviks, the best orchestra of humanity.

The musician feels what he sees, what he perceives in existing relations, and this is reflected in his compositions. The history of humanity was made in this way: art was created for this. On the other hand, the revolutionary politician sees the scientific and historic causes and the roots in the structure of history. The musician sees the moment and expresses this, hence his

historic function has been useful to the revolution. The musician or the poet is revolutionary when he expresses in a sphere in which he can intervene, the necessity to elevate human relations and eliminate all the forms of hatred and violence, imposition and accumulation. Otherwise, it is no use. He is not a poet, he is a propagandist of private property. On the other hand, he is a propagandist of the Communist future when he expresses the development of history. He does not express the political interest of a party, but the human relations for which this party struggles. And there he is identified with Karl Marx.

The revolutionary leader is the direct expression of the struggle. The artist works in an indirect form, he poses the problems taking into account the existing human relations, and through these he imagines and inspires. The revolutionary politician inspires and develops intelligence in the concrete intervention in the class struggle. The artist is the result of human relations and, in a sense, fragments and conceals the real origin; human relations appear expressed in a dispersed way. They do not appear with the origin which is the class struggle. Beethoven is the representative of this, he saw the development of the economy, the struggle of the workers and peasants, and he created the image that the form in which they lived was unjust, and he placed himself against the kings. Hence, Beethoven was a Republican. In that period, to be a Republican was a great progress. But already the French revolution had taken place, and Beethoven was not a creation of himself, he was a representative and expression of a process already developing. His music inspired human relations which he believed could come about. The Bolsheviks showed that they were going to be superior, and it was not only Beethoven who contributed. There was also Rousseau, Diderot and Voltaire – a whole sector of encyclopaedists who, in the field of science, nature and philosophy, made an interpretation of history. They created a series of relations in which the human being was shown to be more confident and more secure of himself, not submitted to the brutality of the economy, to political and feudal power. Mankind was shown to be more secure in being able to utilise the economy to free itself. Beethoven observed these relations which influenced the whole of human activity. His work represents the most complete and consummate level of human relations of that period. Hence his work was not convenient to the bourgeoisie, because Robespierre was of that stage and Beethoven went to the depths in music of the conclusions of the French Revolution.

BEETHOVEN RAISED HUMAN RELATIONS TO THE LEVEL OF FRATERNITY

Beethoven raised human relations to the level of fraternity, which was a base to eliminate the differences, the existing contradictions and antagonisms, but at the same time, he represents an aspect of this progress. He did not represent the programmatic political forms, he represented an aspect of this process and in the act of creation, he was inspired by the desire to serve the progress that arose from these relations. This was not an order or a decree by any party. The development of science, of human relations, the dominion of nature, the advance of technology, production and industry, created the relations of the liberation of the human being with respect to nature, and in part of society. All this together, Diderot, Rousseau, Voltaire, was expressed

in philosophy and in nature. Beethoven expressed it in human relations, in music, as the creation of the human being. He expressed a certain independence from subjection to the economy and to nature. But the creation of Beethoven is a reply on the terrain of inspiration, of the most elevated sentiments. In politics it is not so, because politics refers to concrete, material facts. He represented an aspect of the class struggle in the form of the most elevated human relations and human sentiments, but which did not serve directly the class struggle. On the other hand, they served directly Marx and the other revolutionaries, because this gave them historic security and affirmed them in the security of Communism, showing them that Communism was legitimate in history.

Beethoven contributed in the elaboration of revolutionary ideas, as every revolutionary art contributes to revolutionary ideas. It creates sentiments of fraternity, justice and equality. He observes life, not to contemplate – like the owner – but to elevate human relations. This helps the revolutionary to be affirmed in his activity, it communicates, homogenises knowledge among the revolutionary intellectuals who are the ones who are at the level of this understanding and allows them to be based on theoretical and political security. This is a contribution of Beethoven to revolutionary ideas.

This is how we interpret, this is how this contribution to the progress of the revolution and of humanity must be interpreted.

J. POSADAS

19-5-74

THE SUPPOSED LETTER OF GUEVARA DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLIT

Guevarra has not just been killed in Bolivia. He was liquidated two years ago in Cuba as a result of his political struggle against the Soviet bureaucracy and the bureaucratic elements in Cuba.

Now in order to respond to an internal crisis and to try to gain authority, the Bolivian government confident that it will get no denial from Castro, announces the "death" of Guevara. It is a complete farce; not even the bourgeois journalists though that it was the body of Guevara.

Before he disappeared Guevara had moved close to Trotskyist positions, had come out strongly against 'material incentives', called for an anti-Imperialist world United Front, and called on the Workers States to support the revolution unconditionally and whatever the consequences. Because of this the right wing in Cuba liquidated him, but they have not been able to prevent the development of the Guevarist tendency, with positions close to Trotskyism, in Cuba.

We publish below a document of Cde. Posadas which has been adopted as a resolution at the VIIth World Congress. We agree totally with this analysis, which shows with clarity and complete certainty, that this letter is a fake and a manoeuvre to try to stop the development of the Guevarist tendency.

We have just received an article by Posadas on the recent farce of Guevara's death in Bolivia and we will publish it in a later edition of 'RED FLAG'.

The document which has just been published under the title 'Create one, two, three Vietnams' and which is attributed to Guevara, is not from him. It is a subterfuge of the Fidel Castro group to try to contain the immense pressure of the Guevarist base in Cuba. They are frightened of an attack, for one of the consequences of the Political Revolution in China is going to be that the Guevara affair will re-emerge. They need to hide historic truth. But sooner or later, it will have to appear. With this document and the reference to Bolivia and Brasil, they are going to present, in a little while, Guevara as dead or assassinated.

It is we who have said that the movement, the group of Fidel Castro has assassinated and eliminated Guevara. Assassinated or eliminated, or kept in prison, he cannot participate politically and that is the objective.

This letter is basically and in reality destined to impede, to polemicise and to politically combat the Guevarist wing, by opposing a programme of deception to the revolutionary programme of today; Trotskyism. This is what the letter is meant for. It is a commiseration; attention! "There is nothing, death comes, and destruction. We are not strong enough, the possibilities do not exist etc.' Everything in the letter goes in this sense. They ignore the living reality which is under their noses, it is world Capitalism which is in retreat and on the defensive. It is the masses of the world who are advancing and encircling Capitalism and effectively putting it to flight, even if the revolution does not troumph everywhere. But there is a permanent process of advance of the class struggle. The class and revolutionary struggle is not a single act. This last act is the culminating point of a whole previous process of class struggle, which prepared it with constant, constant advances. In Brasil, in Bolivia, in Peru, in Mexico, the class struggle advances. It is absurd to ignore the struggle of the masses and the constant retreat of Capitalism. Absurd to ignore it. These defeats of Imperialism prepare later actions.

But on the contrary the letter is a mystification; the guerrillas go to the mountain, launch an appeal to the masses and they are going to follow. On what will the population base themselves in order to follow the guerrillas? On what previous actions? What organisation, what life, what previous struggle, so that the population follows the guerrillas? Without a previous struggle no guerrilla can attract anybody. Without the big struggles of the proletariat of the sugar industry, without the struggels of the railway workers of Cuba, of the worker and peasant masses, Fidel Castro would not have triumphed. There has already been a historic precedent which was not for nothing; 4 Trotskyist deputies and 2 senators, and a powerful Communist Party. Fidel Castro did not emerge from nowhere to attract these people. The social conditions were already established. And in the document it is the opposite; "Look out for Imperialism, don't make a noise, destruction and death are coming." It is a lie. They want to prevent the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

Anybody who writes a letter feels the need for a political organised activity, of influencing organically, of not only firing rifle shots. Why don't they weigh organically? Like the Cuban government. Why? What does such a public document mean? That they want to weigh organically in the world, as a leadership. And where is he to be with a movement, a group, a party? Even if he does not say where he is, the problem is; how to make himself felt, how can he influence? It is not necessary to say where he is to be found. But he should appear organically, as we do. In that situation it is necessary to do this, elsewhere something else, make appeals to do so and so.

The revolutionary struggle is not silent, but noisy. The rifle shots, the agitation, the programme make a noise, need to communicate. There is no such thing as a silent revolutionary struggle. It is the bureaucrats who maintain silence for fear of arousing the world, for they are even frightened of the flies.

It speaks of Bolivia, of Brasil. Where is he? If he was in a country he would say: 'It is necessary to do so and so' and would give a programme. This is what one would do to organise the masses. One cannot organise and attract in silence. This is not justified by any clandestinity. This means hiding oneself from the enemy, but one must appeal publicly to the masses, one calls them publicly, orientates them, appeals to them with the programme.

The Communist Manifesto says 'the Communists are not frightened of telling the truth, nor of appealing for struggle'. Good. In what organism does Guevara function? Why doesn't he submit to Fidel Castro, to the Tricontinental? Why has he not been to the Tricontinental conference? This so called document of Guevara is in contradiction with the Tricontinental. Why doesn't he give all power to this conference? Would he compete with it? This conference has meant an attempt at centrism by Fidel Castro to unify the leadership of the struggle to prevent it escaping from his hands. He sees himself obliged to advance in the revolution and he is frightened. From this comes the Tricontinental.

Inevitably he must show his contradictions, his antagonisms, his absurdities. It is absurd that at the moment itself as he holds the Tricontinental, Guevara disappears. Where is he, where is his organism? Where is his group, his action? There is nothing. It is a simple document which has neither the form nor the ideas of Guevara. It does not explain the last public stage which we know about, his trip to Africa and to China, in the course of which, he appealed for the struggle against the Soviet bureaucracy, against its bureaucratic power. The last public and world activity of Guevara has been a call against the Soviet bureaucracy, an appeal to destroy it, an appeal to support the revolutionary world United Front. This document runs counter to the tendency, the action and the thought of the last period of the known life of Guevara.

The document reflects the attitude of those who submit themselves to the military power of Imperialism, when it is Imperialism which is in process of being beaten. We repeat: the Conference of Presidents has just been held, and they have not been able to bring out any document against Cuba, or appeal to go to fight in Vietnam. They did it behind the scenes, they have not hurled themselves to do it publicly. Does this show the power of Imperialism? It has atomic arms, money, but no social force. And it is by basing oneself on this latter fact that one must appeal to the masses. This document is not a fighting revolutionary document. It is mystical. Fidel Castro said a short time ago 'there is no class struggle in the United States'. Guevara and the Trotskyists say the opposite. We have publicly criticised Fidel Castro. He seeks a subterfuge with this document, a way of saying that the class struggle has begun in the United States. When Karl Marx died there had been a class struggle in the United States for a long time. Guevara and the Trotskyists speak of the class struggle of the North American proletariat. Fidel Castro has received criticisms from within and tries now to annul them by making reference to this problem. Guevara did not say "The class struggle begins to develop in the United States." He bases himself on it.

All those who think that we are impatient, leftist, that we are forced to say a living man is dead, deceive themselves. It is these who are forced to present a dead man as alive. Very rapidly this dead man is going to make it felt that it is not possible to make fun of him. For shortly in Cuba the question is going to arise "Where is Guevara?"

This document is entirely directed to contain the pressure of the layers of the revolutionary currents within Cuba, who are Guevarist and Trotskyist; to contain them, to resist the pressure so as to prepare in a short stage the explanation that he has been assassinated. If he lived, he would in process of directing the revolution. When they show him in a photograph, why don't they present him in life? Why don't they make a film of him? A film showing him in struggle, with such a programme and appeal? Why do they not show him calling for a struggle showing his organisation, his political life as has been done in Cuba. The Cuban revolutionaries in Mexico did not hide what they wanted.

Where is the organism in which Guevara functions? It is an infamy, a lie, and those who act in this way are ready for no matter what infamy in this story; whatever it might be. It is the perversion of the interests of the revolution submitted to the interests of centrism.

When they bring out a document without a date, without place of origin, it is because it is false, full of contradictions and lies. It is a shameful mystification, completely shameful. The last positions of Guevara are Trotskyist. He attacked the Soviet bureaucracy for its belief in material stimulus. He openly called for the liquidation of this. This letter is a sickly appeal of a religious person who addresses the world: "Look at these terrible Yankies who are killing, causing people to die." The Imperialists are the ones who are overwhelmed and buried by the world revolution; it is they who must withdraw and who have been at the meeting of presidents in Latin America to try to attract them against Cuba and Vietnam, and who have failed. In an indirect fashion, it is the presence of the force of the revolution. Ongania has not taken power in Argentina to give it to the CGT but to hinder it from taking power, and has amongst other objectives the objective of going to Vietnam and Cuba. Why doesn't it go?

The appeals to overthrow Capitalism and to combat it are abstract, idealist, without appeals for concrete struggles. Why do they not appeal for struggle in Columbia, in Venezuela, in Guatemala, in Brazil, in Bolivia, with a programme as was done by the Cuban revolution. And how are they going to develop the revolutions in the whole of the world? Their programme is concerned with containing, polemicising, rejecting the programme of the Guevarist and Trotskyist tendencies. That expresses a very elevated process of organisation in Cuba. Otherwise they would not bring out such a document. If Guevara was really alive they would show him launching effective appeals for the revolution. The person who writes a document analysing, concerned with the world forces of the class struggle, has an interest in organising, in living an organic life in the organisms. Where is this organism? What is it? There is no reason why he should hide himself, Fidel Castro and the Cuban government do not conceal the fact that they are making organisms, they do not hide effective action. Clandestinity does not mean not saying what one is going to do.

The letter was produced in Cuba by the tendency of Fidel Castro and the Cuban Communist Party to try to contain the development of the Guevarist wing. As they were not able to combat it in the name of Fidel Castro, they did it in the name of Guevara. The document contradicts itself constantly. At no time does it speak of parliamentary methods. Its allusion to Yon Sosa to the guerrillas, is an appeal to the armed guerrilla, to the struggle for the taking of power, but without a programme. It is a contradictory document which reflects the present struggle in Cuba and the attempt of the leadership to arrive at a transitory agreement, very transitory.

WORLD TROTSKYIST PRESS

ALGERIA : *Revolution Socialiste*, organ of the Fourth International Group (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

ARGENTINA : *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Workers' Party. (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

BELGIUM : *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).
Die Arbeidertrijd, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, C. Polet B.P. 73. Charleroi, Sud. Belgium.

BOLIVIA : *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Amadeo Vargas Ace, Casilla de Correo 644, Oruro, Bolivia.

BRAZIL : *Frente Operaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

CHILE : *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). J. Segundo Caceres, Casilla 7048, Santiago, Chile.

CUBA : *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Monte No. 12, Esq., Zulueta Ap. 11, Piso 2, Havana.

ITALY : *Lotta Operaia*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist. Casella Postale 5050, Roma Ostiense

FRANCE : *Lutte Communiste*, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Roc'hcongar, 21 avenue du President Wilson, La Plaine Saint Denis, Paris.

GREECE : Communist Fight. Clandestine.

MEXICO : *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotyskyist. Apdo Postal 7-1039, Admon No. 7, Mexico D.F.

PERU : *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apartado 5044, C. Central Lima.

SPAIN : *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).

URUGUAY : *Frente Obrero*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). General Flores 2515, Montevideo.

INTERNATIONAL : *Cuarta Internacional*, organ of the International Executive Committee of the IVth International. *Revista Marxista Latino Americana*, organ of the Latin American Bureau. Casilla Correo 1204, Correo Central, Montevideo, Uruguay.
Rivista Marxista Europea, organ (in Italian) of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat. P. Leone, Casella Postale 5050, Roma Ostiense

SERVES TO CONTAIN AND LIMIT THE ICAL REVOLUTION IN CUBA

J. Posadas 17. 4. 67

This letter was written with the mentality of a bureaucrat, it is not that of a revolutionary. A revolutionary cannot see Imperialism powerful when the contrary is the case.

If De Gaulle had real power, he would show it in the capacity of French Capitalism. Why was he not capable of hindering the triumph of the Communist Party in France? And the 407 Trotskyist votes in an election in San Denis, why has he not hindered all that? This letter goes against reality. It is written for reasons of justification, as were all the crimes of Stalin. It was written with the desire to deceive history, and it is absurd. And it was written at the moment where in China they are opening the archives! It is only possible to write such a letter when Cuba is in such a tense situation. Otherwise there would be no need to write in this way. They write to contain the organisation of the revolutionary tendency, public discussion, and more afterwards, they justify repression.

The Guevara which they present has no sense. Not only is there no animation, or life, tbut still no logic. It is outside all logic. It is not possible to refer to Guatemala, or Venezuela, or Bolivia without saying what is happening, what it is necessary to do. These are simple references to try to show that Guevara still exists to prove that he is living. The world press says then: it is undoubted that Guevara is alive since he keeps up with events. The world press says: it is undoubted that Guevara is alive because the references that he makes, refer to events of a little time back.

Castro and Imperialism wish to hinder Trotskyist authority in Guatemala. For that they did everything that they could and amongst other things assassinated Francisco Amado Granados.

But "Guevara" in order to gain authority has to say "Yon Sosa is among the revolutionaries who are now arising". The person who wrote this letter has read badly the paper that they have given him. He presents Yon Sosa as a person who has just appeared. He does not give the date of his birth. He presents him as someone who has just appeared as from now. Thus who ever reads it realises that this person does not know what has happened in Guatemala, because Yon Sosa fought for a number of years, he did not arise in revolution just now. He appeared before, a year and a half before Fidel Castro attacked him. Thus attacked he has been reborn today in this letter, because already the Trotskyist influence is very great.

It has just been communicated to us that the discourse made by Fidel Castro after the Tri-Continental has been heard in Mexico from Havana, but the attacks against the MR 13th November and Trotskyism have been suppressed. If we were pestilential, we would continue to be so and much more still after a year. However, it appears that we are regenerated. It is true that Fidel Castro can no longer blow his nose at us. He ignores, he eliminates the attacks. This means that the development of the Guevarist and Trotskyist tendency in Cuba is very profound.

This means that a very tense stage of the political revolution in Cuba exists in which it is necessary to intervene as already our section is in process of doing. This letter is also a reply to our section, for it has the objective of deminishing the authority of the Trotskyists.

The bourgeoisie publishes this letter in its papers, because it is in a united front with the intentions expressed in this document; it wishes to confront the revolutionary tendency. There in this letter can be found a new expression of a very intense political struggle, of fractions, within the team itself of Fidel Castro. There is a struggle of fractions and tendencies.

Stalin falsified many things much more important than this. He falsified the text of Lenin, his positions, his policy, but it is the policy of Stalin which has died and the Trotskyists are living. When they act thus it is because little time remains to them. When they have to resort to such lies, to such historic mystification, it is because the historic time which remains to them is very short. We are no longer in the stage of Stalin, at the stage of retreat, but at that of the advance of the revolution. And they go out to try to cut this concrete organic advance of the revolutionary tendency. That is why there is such a mystification.

The Capitalist press also has an interest in maintaining this mystification, and publishes this letter, because it is in a united front with them against the revolutionary tendency, it is the same attitude which at the time of the crimes of Stalin, was shared by the world bourgeoisie. All its literature justified them, as necessary to the defence of the fatherland, it concealed them. The world press publishes today this letter and opens its columns to it because this letter defends their common interest against the revolution.

They assassinated Trotsky many years ago as also other Trotskyists throughout the world, but today it is Trotskyism which is developing throughout the world. The programme, the policy, the objectives and the ideas which develop today in the world are Trotskyist, neither from Stalin, Kruschev, Mao, Fidel Castro or Guevara but Trotskyist. The one closest to us is Guevara and at present the Chinese wing which tries to impel the revolution.

This "Guevara affair" is going to last for a very short time. The revolution has more strength than all of them. Trotsky said: "the revolution will open all the archives". And that was in 1937. We followed the examples of our masters, of Trotsky and we say "The archives are already open, the action of centrism is to muddle the papers up, but already the papers are in order despite this muddle."

A revolutionary such as Guevara who has shown his sensibility in advancing in the revolution, a man who has gone on forming himself since the nationalist Cuban policy, up to the world revolution, cannot be presented as a cramped type, a limited person whose brain power is limited. It is absurd, absurd. The Guevara who launched appeals in Algeria, in China, in the course of his interview with Babu in Zanzibar, who appealed to the world permanent revolution, is not the Guevara they present with an insignificant political conclusion, appealing to defend himself, weeping, making it appear that Capitalism has enormous strength. This is how they present him in this text! Whereas in his last conscious stage he showed that the strength was on the side of the world revolution and not on the side of Capitalism. This document is the antithises of Guevara, it has nothing to do with him. Neither in Cuba nor in the rest of the world, can such a document be accepted. The only people who are able to write such a text are those who have an interests in surviving as centrists. This journalist has no other notion of life than that which the 'powerful ones' give; in this case the centrists, the Soviet bureaucracy and in part Capitalism. They jump on to the bandwagon of Fidel Castro and use him, for they have no other way of feeling themselves able to grapple with the revolution. They think that it is this way that it is possible to contain it. But they are only attached by the little finger, they have little strength and will collapse rapidly, very rapidly.

J. POSADAS

17. 4. 1967.

An apology to our Readers

We apologise to our readers for the irregularity of 'RED FLAG' during the last few months. This has been due to preparation of the 'European Marxist Review' which has taken up the majority of the resources and effort of the team.

The 'European Marxist Review' which is going to contain all the documents of the VIII World Congress as well as other articles by Posadas, is of fundamental importance at this stage to orientate and guide all the revolutionary tendencies which are forming and developing throughout the whole of the English speaking world. This is the reason why the British section, carrying out a resolution of the VIII World Congress, is devoting the greater part of its meagre material resources to this task. We apologise also to our readers for the delay in its publication, but we expect it to appear in about a months time.

In the new year we will again publish 'RED FLAG' fortnightly and we make a financial appeal to all our readers to renew their subscriptions, to take out subscriptions, to order the 'European Review', and to send us donations, so as to enable us to increase and improve all our publications.

Editorial Board

Activity of the Party in Newcastle

During the last weekend of October a small Cadres School of the Party was held in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The school was attended by comrades and sympathisers of the Party from England together with a representative of the European Bureau.

The courses of the school were:

The World Development of the Revolution,	**RICHARD**
The Role and Development of the IV International,	**VALERY**
Report on the British Situation,	**COLIN**

All the comrades intervened in the discussions, and there was a specific discussion on the work of the Party in Newcastle. Afterwards all the comrades intervened giving a balance of the school. Greetings were sent to comrade Posadas, the International Secretariat, and the European Bureau. The school ended with the singing of the International.

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THE MACABRE FARCE OF THE SO-CALLED PROLETARIAN VANGUARD AND THE DE

(1st Part)

The workers vanguard of the world has understood very well, has felt very strongly that a farce has been acted out. This so-called corpse of Guevara found in Bolivia is a complete farce, beginning from Havana, put on by the Cuban Communist Party. It began when they sent Debray and the other paid guys, to set up guerrillas in Bolivia, so as to be able to justify the presence of Guevara afterwards. They made Debray believe that Guevara was to be found there.

We do not know if Debray knew or not. But anyway, he either played the game, or else he is innocent because he did not know Guevara. There has been a complete put up job to make believe that Guevara was dead by unknown means. For this reason since the beginning of the year up to the present, there has not been any concrete information on the death of Guevara. Barrientos and Yankee Imperialism have understood the game which Fidel Castro was playing and they have tried to profit from it for their own ends.

Barrientos has, suddenly, made a 'Guevara' appear. He knew very well that Fidel Castro would not be able to deny it. He manufactured a corpse. One can see very well from all the photos, the signs, the contradictions of the government, the false information, the absolutely incredible proofs, for example: this 'corpse' of 'Guevara' with moccasins. The figure and the appearance of this 'Guevara' have nothing to do with Guevara. It gives the impression, for the moment of being a wax dummy.

It is because of this that Fidel Castro said in his speech 'Don't believe that it is a wax dummy!' Who is he speaking to? Why does he make this mention? If it is a dead man, it is a dead man. If Castro thinks that people suspect, it is because there is a basis for suspicion. He makes references to the fact that it is not a wax dummy because there are people who suspect, who doubt. Nobody has seen the corpse. It was enclosed in a room, lit only by the television lights.

This is what the journalist of Primera Plana" said, that is to say one of the biggest reviews of the Argentine bourgeoisie which ridicules all this. The review ridicules completely and shows that the whole thing is a farce, a lie, that there wasn't such a corpse. The review states that Barrientos wanted to give as a proof that this was the corpse of Guevara the fact that he has a wound on the forearm. This corpse of 'Guevara' was to be found on show in a laundry in semi-darkness. It was not possible to see in the light save when the television arrived. The television lights illuminated it, with a light which did not allow a complete identification. And the corpse was on show for scarcely a half hour on the TV. The journalist of 'Primera Plana' said "The T.V. showed a light scar on the arm" and added, mocking, that this wound had been faked.

The brother of Guevara declared that a whole series of protuberances which the corpse had on the forehead to seem like Guevara, could have been made artificially with an injection of paraffin. He denied absolutely that it was his brother.

Afterwards there was this parody of the fingerprints, then they "burnt the body. There have been different declarations, one completely contradictory to the other. If it was Guevara they had only to say: come and see, and they could show it to all the bourgeoisie, to the army and to the police. This could gain an immense authority.

This is the way that the world workers vanguard has understood it. The important thing is that the workers vanguard of Argentina, of Chile, of Uruguay, of Brazil, of Bolivia, of Europe and of the world are not guided by this false corpse to determine that it was not Guevara.

It made a political analysis. The world workers vanguard sees that politically it cannot be Guevara. It sees in Guevara a revolutionary organiser. A man who discusses, who has a programme and ideas, a revolutionary who was in process of elevating himself.

The world workers vanguard has seen him since the Cuban revolution, until his journey through Asia and Africa, as a revolutionary who concentrated and elevated his activity to organise the revolution and to learn from the revolution.

It saw that he had seized the programme of the permanent revolution. It saw how he discussed in his meetings with Babu in Tanzania, in Algeria, in Cairo, in China, how he elevated his revolutionary positions and criticised the Soviet bureaucracy because it did not aid the Workers States.

Guevara demanded that the Workers States must aid the least advanced Socialist countries, without conditions, as China does—as he said. He appealed for a united front to overthrow Imperialism. A letter of Guevara to the revolutionaries of Uruguay, although still remaining limited and feeble, showed the intention to raise the Socialist moral and to seek the organisation of the revolution.

And all at once, they make him appear like an adventurer firing some shots, renouncing the political struggle in Cuba at a moment when it had attained a very acute point, and when, a little time afterwards, Fidel Castro launched the open struggle against the Communist Party.

The world workers vanguard sees that it is a farce. It sees that this corpse is that of an adventurer, not of a revolutionary, consistent in the struggle, and Guevara has shown that he was consistent. The vanguard does not accept and does not see the justification of his renouncing his struggle. The guerrillas in Bolivia mean such a renouncing, because the fight must be lead in Cuba, as the struggle on a world scale, to unify the Workers States, to organise the world revolution.

And it sees him all at once renounce this activity, and leave for Bolivia! This is the judgement which guides the revolutionary vanguard, and the Trotskyists, the IV International. The simulation of a corpse is not a guide for it. It sees it, this corpse, as the conclusion of a farce but it is not at this moment that it draws a conclusion.

It sees that politically and historically it is unacceptable that Guevara is to be found in Bolivia playing the adventurer. It sees that he has not brought out a manifesto, has neither policy nor programme. Guevara has shown the elevation of the understanding of the programme. What is the programme of the guerrilla?

There isn't any! What united him to the Bolivian masses? If he goes to fight in Bolivia he must seek contact with the Bolivian masses. with the historic objective of Bolivia, with the manifesto, programme and political appeal. There is nothing of this! Not a single political appeal that Guevara signed and in which he launches an appeal. It is the authority of the leader which influences and decides. What authority has Guevara shown in Bolivia? The world workers vanguard has sensed this and for this reason rejects this farce. The world revolutionary vanguard had seen Guevara agitate for a programme and knew that in his last declaration, before having been assassinated in 1965, he said: "We came to the Cuban revolution without a programme, we came like blind people, and it was on the road that we learnt the necessity for a Socialist programme of the expropriation of Capitalism".

And in Bolivia? He must apply this experience learnt in Cuba. Why doesn't he apply it? Because he has never been to Bolivia! The world workers vanguard has taken the disappearance of Guevara as a blow made against a leader who was raising his understanding of the Socialist revolution, to become a leader who was necessary for the organisation and reanimation of the world fight for the Socialist revolution, the elevation of the morality of the Socialist revolution and of the programme of the Socialist revolution.

The world working class, the worker, intellectual, peasant, student, vanguard has seen that there they gave a blow against the world rising of the political revolution. With its attitude of innate distrust, it has rejected it before having seen the corpse.

The world working class did not wait for the corpse before saying it was not Guevara. If they had waited for this moment, Fidel Castro would have been able to make his authority influence. But Fidel Castro accepted the corpse and made a simple funeral speech without political explanation, really playing a macabre comedy.

The working class confirmed its judgement. Guevara has been assassinated; this is its historic judgement. It is this which weighs on Fidel Castro. It is this which forces him still today, to make speeches to justify himself; this judgement weighs on the whole world, on Cuba, and in Cuba on Fidel Castro. The world workers vanguard shows with this attitude, its revolutionary maturity to take power.

It is already in process of advancing to pass over all the leaderships. The judgement of the whole of the workers vanguard is identical with that of the IV International; it wished that Guevara should not be dead. But the actual facts confirm that he is dead.

THIS MACABRE COMEDY IS DIRECTED IN PART TO CONTAIN THE PROCESS OF THE ADVANCE OF THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN CUBA AND TO HIDE THE REVOLUTIONARY ROLE OF GUEVARA

Why the importance of Guevara on a world scale? He has been eliminated in Cuba. Why was he important if he did not have any weight, any participation? Because the proletarian vanguard is in process of pushing forward and seeking a centre to eliminate the bureaucracy of the Workers States, the leaders conciliatory with Capitalism, and what still remains of Capitalism. World Capitalism has given such a great importance to the death of Guevara for this reason. For all of them this "death" confirms their desire to liquidate and crush the revolutionary force.

They must respond at the same time to the worry of petit bourgeoisie layers, to the preoccupation of the proletarian vanguard, to the state of public opinion which is inescapable. The press which does not speak of Guevara every day is not read! It loses all authority and any other press can overtake it, and this includes the press of the Communist Party, and the world press for this reason has to launch a response to this world preoccupation.

Why such a preoccupation? Because the policy is necessary. The reanimation of the Socialist revolution, the "Cultural revolution" in China, the Socialist revoluton in Syria, the triumph of the Arab masses over Imperialism and Israel, the development of the political revolution in Cuba are symptoms, demonstrations of the ascending force of the political revolution, of the world Socialist revolution as well as at the same time, the lack of a centre.

From this comes the importance of Guevara, for he gave a centre. He was eliminated when he raised himself as a centre based on the authority of the Workers State, on his authority as a organiser of the Cuban Workers State. He was a centre. From this comes his world historic importance. Guevara did not develop this function in history simply by firing rifle shots. He commenced as a gunman, as a man protectionist and paternalist towards the masses, elevating himself afterwards to the level of an organiser of the Workers State. The masses have seen this advance. And on the other hand they see the criminal complicity of Fidel Castro. They see it.

Once Barrientos understood the game, when he understood that the stay of Debray could be used, he invented this trial of Debray. He began to prepare the discovery of the corpse of Guevara. He was still not sure, because he feared the consequences which could come from a denial from Cuba.

This is why, when he was first of all all asked if Guevara was in Bolivia, Barrientos deplied 'Guevara has been dead a long time, he is already enjoying the just sleep of the dead.' One month later, when he saw that faking the presence of Guevara could profit him, he said that he was in Bolivia. He needed to do it because of his internal struggles, to support his policy of repression against the miners and to prevent the other military sectors in struggle against him, from overthrowing him.

He also wanted to justify the support of Imperialism, so that it could in its turn justify the 'Inter-American Peace Force'. From this came the game of Barrientos. On the side of the Cuban government and Communist Party this simulation was to remove from the masses of Cuba and the world the idea that Guevara has been assassinated in Cuba. For this reason they have staged this whole show, and in it Debray is a part. Innocent or interested, he is a part of this show.

All the world proletarian vanguard must repudiate this declaration on the death of Guevara in Bolivia. Guevara showed a sensibility to defend the revolutionary masses of the world. Thus, faced with the repression of Barrientos he has not published a single document. Barrientos assassinated miners, workers and peasants with planes and tanks, and Guevara has not made a single declaration against this! It is a lie! It is an infamy! If Guevara was there he would have intervened.

It is the contrary to what they show; in his diary he seems to flatter the Bolivian army without saying a single word about the revolutionary struggles of the miner proletariat. It is absurd. This is the proof for the world revolutionary vanguard, the proof of this macabre comedy put on by Fidel Castro, and to which Barrientos is joined.

The world revolutionary vanguard sees that Fidel Castro is hesitating, un-

Comrade Elias Suarez of the Cuban Section is dead

We have learnt, in a letter from Cde Posadas, of the death of Comrade Elias Saurez, a militant of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) the Cuban Section of the IV International.

As Posadas said in his letter "Comrade Elias, a member of the Left opposition in Spain, went to Cuba in 1929, where he continued his struggle in the Left Opposition and where he identified himself with the struggle of the revolutionary proletariat in Cuba."

His struggle, like that of the whole Cuban Section, for the Socialist Revolution never wavered in the face of the repression of the Cuban Communist Party and Fidel Castro, and he never wavered in his unconditional support of the Cuban Revolution.

We render homage to Comrade Elias Saurez and salute at the same time the Cuban Section of the International who are carrying on his struggle.

DEATH OF GUEVARA IN BOLIVIA. THE VELOPMENT OF WORLD REVOLUTION

J. Posadas 16. 10. 67.

certain, and unstable. It sees his complicity in this macabre comedy. This takes from him a great part of the authority which he was in process of gaining by his recent revolutionary advance in OLAS. With this attitude, Fidel Castro shows hesitation, insecurity and fear to affront world public opinion. It is a retreat of a petit bourgeois who defends his personality, through lies. The masses see at the same time that Fidel Castro wants to advance, but that he is weak. They understand the contradiction between his will to advance and his complicity in this crime. He is not solely an accomplice. He went to the extent of authorising this crime. The working class has judged him, but it has not wanted to damage the Cuban revolution. It feels the necessity to impel the Cuban revolution and Fidel Castro included.

This is why, while completely rejecting the argument of Fidel Castro it does not adopt an attitude of open attack, but solely of condemnation. Fidel Castro is in process of losing a great part of his authority and his prestige. These are the contradictions of the rise of the political revolution in Cuba.

The murder of Guevara has an historic importance. They put on such a parody, such a macabre comedy, because the thought, the development of the consciousness, and the understading of the programmatic ability of Guevara was going to extend itself through all Cuba. In the last stages of his life, his revolutionary development was evident, conclusive. He fought for a moral stimulus, for the unification of all the Socialist forces in the world. He made an eulogy of the Chinese because they made loans without interest and without repayment periods.

Fidel Castro hid this Chinese aid. When at the Tri-Continental, they accused the Chinese, he did not say that they were the only ones to give interest free loans and without repayment periods. He only says it now. Stimulated, forced to advance because of the political revolution in Cuba, Fdel Castro sees himself obliged to seek points of support, and to show to the masses that he is in process of advancing. And the advance of Fidel Castro is one aspect which shows his real desire to progress but on the other side he tries to hide his complicity in this crime. He has waited for this occasion in order to rid himself of the corpse of Guevara.

Fidel Castro, like all paternalist and protectionist revolutionaries, who have not historic consciousness of the role and of the decisive force of the masses, does not believe in the historic capacity for creation, organisation, leadership and historic decision of the masses. No, he believes that they need a chief a figure. He is mistaken.

The revolutionary Party has never acted in this way. Never have either Lenin, Trotsky, Marx or Engels or the Bolshevik Party acted in this way. Fidel Castro feels himself paternalist in relation to the masses. He believes that history is going to judge favourably the day when he will tell the truth about the murder of Guevara, he believes that he is going to pass into history. On the contrary history is going to condemn him. If the masses do not condemn him today it is because they consider that he wishes to advance and that he is not defending bureaucratic interests.

The attitude of Fidel Castro is contemptuous towards the masses and the world revolutionary vanguard. He has made himself a guarantor for the Bolivian and world bourgeoisie. The Soviet bureaucracy and the Communist Party are going to take advantage of this attitude in order to be demanding towards him, using his weakness, his hesitation and his uncertainty. Fidel Castro will receive and deserve by this attitude the distrust of world revolutionary public opinion, for he imagines that the revolution is made at the top.

He believes that he can present himself in history covering up murders and playing this macabre farce. It acts as a blow against the advance of the Socialist revolution. It is this which the masses judge. It is a blow against the advance of the Socialist revolution in Cuba and in the world. It is not simply a question of the disappearance of a revolutionary leader. The masses see, feel, judge the leaders by their behaviour in the revolution. They have confidence and assurance in themselves, they have a historic class confidence.

Their role and their function in the economy and in society forces them to be objective, this is why they realised the United Proletarian World Front before any other leadership, even that of the Bolsheviks, Before them, it was already in the minds of th masses. The United World Front already exists.

The masses of the world have a capacity of persuasion, attraction, revolutionary historic stimulus. This is why they can make the united front in the trade union field, in the factory, in the streets and the districts. They are making it constantly because they feel concretely and historically that there are not divergencies of interests among them. To the measure that the revolution advances, the masses feel an elevation and a conscious identification.

What they are making objectively, pushed by necessity by their function in the economy and in society by their own situation faced with the capitalist system they are afterwards doing consciously in the revolution. The Syrian masses unify themselves in a very few years and they are the ones who have put Imperialism to flight. The Syrian masses! This is why, they have an immense historic capacity and certainty of persuasion, they do not fear the polemic, they do not fear the struggle, the political controversy.

They feel that they are winning, that they are polemicising to try to progress, to advance and attract. This is why proletarian democracy is the most complete that has ever existed in history, in the workers and revolutionary movement. It permits a discussion, full and without fear, without any hesitation and without any limit.

LIKE THE MASSES WHO BY THEIR OBJECTIVITY DO NOT FEAR ANY DISCUSSION AND SEEK THE TRUTH, IT IS NECESSARY TO IMPOSE PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY AND THE SOVIETS

The workers movement objectively needs discussion. It needs to compare ideas, positions, in order to choose the best. Thus the working class sees itself united in the common desire to advance against Capitalism. Subjective paternalist, individualist and protectionist interests do not exist. There is only the objective interests which the class develops starting from its function in the economy and society. It is the revolutionary party which expresses this. The masses have not any hesitation to unify themselves to discuss whatever be the position. They feel sure of winning and advancing.

On the other hand the protectionist, individualist, subjectivist leader is frightened. Feeling himself to be a protector of the masses, he fears discussion, because he lacks security, because he does not see the objective force and responds more to his own subjective needs than to history, even if he is a revolutionary like Fidel Castro. Castro, one year ago, said that "there is no class struggle in the United States" and one year later, Carmichael comes to him to show that this struggle existed with the methods of civil war.

The Auto workers are demanding a guaranteed annual wage and participation in the profits of the enterprise. This indicates that the American workers have absorbed the world class struggle and that now they have the opportunity to express it. In less than one year; a complete denial and Fidel Castro has to change his position. He does it without saying anything. The world vanguard sees it and says "In the same way as you lie over the class struggle in the USA, you lie over Guevara" this is the historic judgement which is to be found in the thought of the world working class. This is what it feels and expresses.

The working class has no fear of discussing and sees that Guevara has been pushed aside because he was expressing revolutionary positions which the Cuban leadership, the communists, and the Soviet bureaucracy did not accept. The world workers vanguard sees that Guevara has been murdered because he expressed the necessity for the moral incentive, the advance of the revolution, workers control, and that he was going to be gained by Trotskyism.

He has been murdered, not because he was a Trotskyist, but because he expressed still in his own manner, the world advance of the revolution and because he was going along the Trotskyist road. That is why they liquidated Guevara. The vanguard sees that it was Guevara who had all these positions, while Fidel Castro was against them. Now it is Fidel Castro who is advancing. The world workers vanguard sees in him this contradictory role of being a guarantor of crimes and this macabre comedy. It sees it and does not pardon it.

As with Stalin, the masses will take vengeance. As revolutionaries of their epoch, the Bolsheviks took vengeance on all traitors, all accomplices, all betrayers, by taking power. This is the historic vengeance of the masses of the world. Personal vengeance does not exist. The historic vengeance of the class is against the class enemy. This is the way of demanding the necessity of the advance of the revolution and eliminating the weak and the hesitating ones.

The historic assurance of the working class pushes it so as not to fear discussions, because it does not defend subjective interests, nor intellectual or material interests. It does not have these. It is not only material interests which determine bureaucratic functioning but also intellectual interests, a paternalist protectionist idealist view of history.

Guevara reflected the necessary function of the individual in history which is to interpret the revolutionary will of the masses. Guevara passed from the stage in which he wanted to close Cuba in on itself, to a point where he undertook his trip round the world. It was not Guevara but Fidel Castro who said "Khrustshev is the finest revolutionary". Guevara never said it. While Fidel Castro hesitated, Guevara advanced in the revolution and learnt from the world socialist process. Three years later, he went to Algeria and Tanzania, and he declared the necessity for the moral incentive, the elimination of the material incentive. He attacked the art and its bourgeois representation in the Workers States.

This was the Guevara, whom they murdered and made disappear. He disappeared. He was a revolutionary who raised his revolutionary understanding, who advanced in the formulation of the programme and then all at once he disappears to go to bury himself in the mountains. In the mountains without contact with the population, without programme, without manifestoes, without political conclusions. It is absurd, outside all logic.

The world proletarian vanguard sees and understands that he would not act like this. It does not act in this way. And it wants to see the leadership act as it itself acts; by drawing programmatic conclusions, by fighting for the programme. To struggle for the objectives of triumph.

One cannot fight as in the guerrillas in Bolivia: isolated, alone, wishing to impose on the population a struggle which they do not see, do not feel, which they don't accompany, and in which they do not participate. And in this country, the miners in their trade unions, the peasants in their organisations, and militias, the factory workers in their organisms are the determining factors in the social struggles! The appearance of guerrillas in Bolivia is absurd. In every revolution guerrillas appeared. And they still will, because of the subjective and objective conditions, because of the existence of a great peasant weight. But an historic experience already exists in Bolivia in which the weight of the organised trade union movement, the worker, peasant, factory, miner movement demonstrated its determinant weight. It is the worst region to choose the guerrilla. The worst place, the worst region. The guerrilla must go to where there is an historic tradition. The Cuban revolution triumphed under the leadership of Fidel Castro and of Guevara, not because of the guerrillas, but because of the tradition of revolutionary struggle in Cuba.

In reading "Granma' (The paper of the Cuban CP) we see how in 1933 forms of soviets already existed in Cuba! In these struggles the peasants organised militias. Cuba is one of the countries of Latin America in which the left opposition had leaders, senators and deputies. There is a great tradition of struggle. It is not the guerrilla which permitted triumph. It is through the military forms of the guerrilla that the struggle can commence, but by basing itself on the already existing tradition, of great strikes, of great organisation of the worker and peasant masses in the sugar industry, and in the big towns of Cuba. This is what Guevara learnt, and he said it himself. In his last journeys within Cuba, Guevara went into the factories to impel the moral stimulus, to make a selection of leaders, by means

CONTD. ON BACK PAGE

Six Trotskyists arrested in Seville

Extract of a declaration of the P.O.R(T) the Spanish section of the IV International, distributed clandestinely in Spain after the announcement of of the arrests.

Immediate freedom for the Trotskyist militants imprisoned in Spain

"We denounce before the revolutionary vanguard, before all the Spanish working class, and before all the exploited masses in Spain, the repression which has fallen on the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) the Spanish Section of the IV International.

In Seville six comrades have just been arrested among them: Jose Bellido, Joanqin Vara, Gonzalo Toledano, Jose Fernandez Sastres, arrested on the denunciation of the Communist Party. These arrests make up part of a whole campaign of denunciation by the Spanish C.P. which has led to arrests in Barcelona, and to the fall of the Workers Commissions of Biscay. The bourgeoisie represses the revolutionary vanguard counting on the support of the Spanish C.P."

We appeal to the vanguard in the workers and student movement and to all the revolutionary petit bourgeoisie and intellectuals to denounce this new repression against the militant revolutionary workers and student vanguard in Spain.

Resist the closing of the mines by strikes and occupations, appealing to other workers on the basis of the Anti-Capitalist Programme

The Government has just announced a ruthless programme of pit closures to take place within the next few years and with many pit closing down in the next 6 months. The Labour Government is taking the action in the interests of the Capitalist class without any concern for the lives or wellbeing of the miners who will join the growing ranks of the unemployed. The crisis of the coal industry springs, in the main from the overall crisis of British Capitalism which is forced to rationalise and concentrate its industries to compete for a share of the saturated world market, and also to carry the cost of the preparation of the next war. The coal industry also has its own specific problems coming from the time of its nationalisation; the mines were nationalised in response to a pressure from the miners certainly, but they were nationalised in a Capitalist fashion and for the overall interest of Capitalism. Thus the former owners were paid generous compensation (they shouldn't have received anything) for which the industry has been paying ever since, and also Capitalist industry was provided with a necessary abundant energy supply for which it paid below the cost of production. Now with the growth of other cheaper energy supplies—particularly oil produced by Imperialist exploitation of the colonial masses—the Capitalists propose to close the mines. They know there is no alternative employment but they are not concerned with human suffering, and they do this even though they know it is socially explosive.

The announcement of these closures has already caused a crisis in the Labour Party, among the miners MP's and among the NUM bureaucrats. The NUM leadership of Paynter of the Communist Party has for years done nothing to fight for the demands of the miners, and has been one of the principal props of the Labour Party, and as a result the day wage men—both underground and surface—are among the worst paid sectors in the country. Now the pressure from the miners is such that the bureaucrats are having to propose some action to keep control of the situation, and hence we see an NUM official demanding a new workers party to be based on the trade unions, calls for the ending of the payment of the political levy, and also from South Wales there has been the demand for a national strike. These demands do not come from the bureaucrats themselves who have been dormant for years but are a reflection in these bureaucratic layers of the combative spirit of the miners, who are looking for political solutions. And it is this spirit which breaks through even into Parliament, causing the miners MP's to resist, verbally at least, these measures and increase the crisis within the Labour Party.

But although these statements and this activity by the bureaucrats are significant in showing the feelings of the miners and are important in that they will encourage and stimulate the miners own activity, no real defence against rationalisation will come from this direction. Even if the officials are forced to call a national strike—which is unlikeley—they will try to limit and sabotage it. Only the most aggressive class methods of action will stop the bourgeoisie in *its plans of rationalisation, and these* methods cannot and will not be organised by the bureaucrats. Unofficial miners committees are necessary to organise the struggle, to plan and carry out strike action and occupations of the pits as the miners have done in Europe. In France and Belgium the miners have occupied pits to prevent their closure while in Germany, in the Ruhr, there have been enormous demonstrations of miners carrying red flags and singing the 'Internationale'. This is the response of the miner proletariat of Europe and it is done despite the sabotage of their political and trade union leaderships. This is what must be done here—nothing will be achieved by sending delegations to Parliament.

British Capitalism is sinking into a deeper and deeper crisis; the devaluation of the pound is one aspect of this, but the origin of the crisis is social not economic. It stems from the fact that Capitalism has lost authority over not only the working class but large sections of the petit bourgeois, the clerks, teachers, technicians etc., as well. All these sectors are pressing forward, taking strike action, and forcing Capitalism to to make concessions which damage its own functioning. The recent strike of bank clerks in South Wales is a prime example of this and shows the maturity of conditions for a united front between the miners and all other sectors of the exploited population. All the masses are threatened by the Capitalist crisis; the Government has just announced sweeping rationalisation on the railways and in other sectors of industry workers are threatened by the unemployment, speed ups and reduction in wages.

The miners vanguard must base themselves on these favourable conditions; British Imperialism is not strong as the Adeni masses have shown by booting it out of Aden—and they must organise in every pit a committee to plan the national strike without waiting for the NUM bureaucrats, plan an occupation of the mines, make contact with all other workers organisations in the area and put forward a programme not just of miners demands but an anti-Capitalist *programme which responds to the situation and which will attract other sectors* of the exploited masses. The Capitalist class is preparing to repress openly and brutally as the European Capitalist class is already doing, as the Belgian bourgeoisie did when they shot the Zwartburg miners earlier this year, but this is an indication of their weakness and fear before the masses. All the international and national conditions are ripe for an offensive by the working class. The will of the working class to smash Capitalism shows itself more clearly every day but still the organisations, the organisms for this do not exist. It is necessary for the miners to take the lead in building these organisations based on democratic elections, with all representatives subject to instant recall, appealing to all other sectors of the exploited masses to support them and putting forward a programme for workers control in the mines nationalisation without compensation and under workers control of all key industries, all wages to rise with the cost of living, all profits of automation to the workers etc. And it is necessary to fight for this programme with revolutionary class methods. Occupy the mines! Keep them running! Appeal to other sectors of workers for support! Sell the coal directly to householders and supply it directly to occupied factories! Appeal directly to the Workers States of Cuba, China, Syria, USSR, etc. to buy the coal.

With this programme and with these methods the whole working class can go forward to smash the plans of the Capitalists, with the perspective of organising the general strike to smash Capitalism and set up a workers government.

OUR PROGRAMME

1. A 35 hour week in all industries.
2. Three weeks paid holiday in all industries, leading to 4 weeks paid holiday.
3. An all-round 30% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.
4. Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
5. Profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.
6. Pensions to equal the average wage, and to rise with the cost of living. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60 for men and 55 for women.
7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training and further education.
8. Students to be maintained on the wage of the average worker, which will increase with the cost of living.
9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of defence committees to protect against landlords' thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harrassment by police. Organisations of tenants committees to have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.
10. Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers management, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisatsion of all key industries without compensation including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manufacturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
16. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.
17. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
18. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of supply
19. For the United Socialist States of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
20. For a workers government.

The macabre farce . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

of elections in the factory. This was against the communists, against bureaucratic selection.

We invite communist militants to do the same. Leaders are elected because of their behaviour before the class. This is what Guevara did. It was an attack against the bureaucracy. At the same time that it was against material stimulus, it was an attack against the bureaucracy of the Workers States, and of the Communist parties, against the arrogance and the aid with interest of the bureaucracy of the Workers States, against the art, the cultural and social bourgeois forms and relations of the leaders of the Communist Parties and the Workers States. This is the Guevara which they have made disappear.

A Guevara who showed his elevation in revolutionary understanding does not go to Bolivia which is the least suitable place to make the guerrillas. They put him there to bury him.

The world proletarian vanguard has seen and lives the consequences of the assassination of Guevara. It has seen the murder of a tendency which advances in the Socialist Revolution. It saw him as a possible centre to organise the struggle, to eliminate the bureaucratic leaderships, the obstacles which hamper the advance in the revolutionary struggle to finish with what remains of Capitalism. Guevara has met such a world echo because the world proletarian vanguard is looking for this centre. Otherwise he would not have encountered it. Why would there be such a preoccupation with Guevara? He would be dead, nothing more. But when the world press, the bureaucracy of Cuba, and Fidel Castro have such a need to refer to him, it is because he is alive in the spirit of the world proletarian vanguard. If it was otherwise the world press would have hardly given him an obituary. Guevara was a revolutionary leader, an organiser. Everything which we say about him is to be found in his texts, in his life. All the communist journals of the world, beginning by those of Cuba give obituaries to him. They make buffoonery, diminish his ability, his historic importance, so that he does not have any importance today. Guevara has an importance in history, by his political positions by the progress which he has shown. From a bourgeois origin, he became a revolutionary leader. He showed his ability and his revolutionary honesty.

The worker masses feel that revolutionary morality, honesty, dignity are necessary and indispensable to the revolutionary struggle. They are not appendages but are part of revolutionary action itself, which expresses the objective need to struggle for the best, to stimulate and support the best. This is morality, this is dignity. They are the representation of historic revolutionary objectivity. The attempt against Guevara is an attack against revolutionary morality. The masses of the world see this. They see that there is not an objective struggle to impel the best, advance with the best, support the best. They see that even without it being a question of a true bureaucracy, the interests are intellectual, protectionist, paternalist towards the masses. They feel it, they reject it, they repudiate it.

And Guevara found a world echo because the world workers vanguard was already ready to take power. Syria shows it. It is the advance of the masses in Syria, the constitution of a powerful revolutionary wing in Syria, which has restrained Imperialism, and forces Nasser to remain in government. Part of the force of the Egyptian masses, is the attitude of the Syrian masses. Even though they have murdered Guevara to prevent him exerting an influence, the revolution has already advanced well. It will not need, as in the time of Trotsky, where before they murdered him he declared "the revolution opens all the archives of history", 30 years to open the archives of history. This time it will not need 30 or 10. In a few years, all the truth on Guevara is going to break out. It will emerge rapidly because 14 Workers States exist, and half of the world is in revolution.

The masses show their interest, their preoccupation, in taking the control of the revolution into their own hands. In this macabre comedy, presenting Guevara as being assassinated in Bolivia, there is contained the intention to restrain the process of the revolution.

(This document will be concluded in the next issue.)

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The macabre farce of the supposed death of Guevara in Bolivia

(Continued from last issue) J. POSADAS Oct. 67

WE CALL UPON THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT, FIDEL CASTRO TO CORRECT HIMSELF IN RELATION TO THIS FARCE OF THE DEATH OF GUEVARA AND TO IMPEL THE WORLD ANTI-CAPITALIST, ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT

Fidel Castro has made an immense retreat when he was in process of advancing. His discourse and his positions in OLAS demonstrated a desire to advance the revolution. He believes that history is going to justify him because he has no bureaucratic interests or intentions. It is true. He has no bureaucratic interests. But he has a bureaucratic intellectual interest. Hence his paternalist attitude. Otherwise he wold not behave in this way. He tries to do this, to forget what he has done, hoping to be able to justify himself later with the advance of the revolution by saying that the death of Guevara was a necessary evil which he was not able to hinder in time and which it was necessary to accept. This is false! When Lenin in 1921 and 1922 resolved upon the invasion of Poland, he did something more difficult than supporting Guevara. Russia was confronting world Capitalism, but he resolved to invade Poland.

It was an invasion only in form, basically it was the expansion of the proletarian revolution from the Soviet Union to Poland. This meant confronting world public opinion, a world force much more powerful than that which Cuba has to confront. The masses of Vietnam and of Syria confront the most powerful military apparatus in history. Yankee Imperialism has the power to destroy half the world, but it does not have the power to intimidate, and terrorise the masses of Syria or Vietnam.

Our Cuban section of the IV International has just published, on the 15 August 1967, a document addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Fidel Castro calling upon them to correct their attacks against Trotskyism. This document declared that OLAS has adopted political positions which are Trotskyist, which are a part of the Trotskyist programme, which are an advance however limited, towards revolutionary positions. It calls for the applications of such positions and for the installation of soviets. It calls for the liberation of the Trotskyst comrades imprisoned in Cuba. It denounces the Cuban government for the ignominy of keeping the Trotskyists still in prison in Cuba after this approach to revolutionary positions, after this meeting of OLAS. The Trotskyists are revolutionary prisoners. These are the consequences of the time when they assassinated Guevara.

Our Cuban section small, resolute with the class capacity which Cuba embodies, defends the truth, makes an appeal to the Cuban government to defend China unconditionally. It appeals for a United Front with China, with the masses of the Workers States, with the revolutionary exploited masses of the world, for a world united front to overthrow what remains of Capitalism. It calls for a public discussion. We demand of the Cuban government complete freedom for our Cuban section to function publicly, to publish its press.

We demand of the Cuban government that it gives complete liberty to all the imprisoned Trotskyist comrades and all the revolutionary prisoners, that it gives full rights to revolutionary tendencies to function on the sole condition of defending unconditionally the Cuban Workers State, and at the same time that it allows the greatest publicity and revolutionary public polemic in searching for the best means, the best ways to make the revolution advance. If proletarian democracy existed as our Cuban section demands, and the IV International and the Trotskyists of the entire world demand, we would not be in the world situation as it is today. The present struggle, of the "Cultural Revolution" in China which is an indirect and limited form of the political revolution, seeks this way. We demand of the Cuban government a complete and free discussion of all these problems.

In Cuba there exists a powerful Guevarist tendency which forces the government to change and to advance. Without the existence of this wing, the Communists would have strength in Cuba, they would dominate and would be already submitted to the Yankees. They would already have conciliated with the Yankees, as did the Communist Party in Venezuela. The force which is opposed to the Communist Party is not the declaration of Fidel Castro, it is the Cuban masses who are against the policy of conciliation of the Communist Party. Guevara has emerged from this base. It is absurd to think that he would have renounced that. He was a centre. It is absurd to thing that he would have said "I am going to liberate other nations" when there was such a struggle within Cuba. The strength of the Cuban masses must give the base for the leadership of the Communist Party and of the Cuban government, to have the strength and the assurance that the people are not going to weaken but on the contrary are going to advance in no matter what circumstance. It must know the truth about the assassination of Guevara, know that Guevara has been assassinated for having defended revolutionary ideas. The Cuban government must have confidence in the masses. The masses will not weaken in front of this situation.

Here is the force on which Fidel Castro must base himself to be rehabilitated. He must make a public declaration, orgnise a public discussion in Cuba from now on. We call for a public discussion throughout Cuba on the policy of Guevara, on his last positions, declarations and appeals. Let this be discussed; let these positions be adopted.

What they are in process of doing in Cuba, is making an obituary, showing that Guevara rode a bicycle, that he was a good boy when he was small, that he was a good doctor, that he became a revolutionary, that he was very friendly with people. They do not show him as a revolutionary leader.

They make a whole obituary to conceal the fact that he was advancing and that his life took on importance when he adopted revolutionary positions. That is why they tried to eliminate him, to push him aside as an adventurer who left to create a disturbance. This is absurd. The declaration of Castro is an ignominy, just as the attack on the Trotskyists was an ignominy. It is ignominious to present Guevara as an adventurer; a "type" who had no fear of death, an adventurer. This was erroreous. Guevara protected his life. He protected his life and he was right.

It is logical and right that every revolutionary should protect his life. To protect his life does not mean that he has a fear of death or is going to hide himself. To protect his life means not to go on adventures, to act in the best possible way for the progressive advance of humanity. Revolutionary leaders arrange their life for this reason, so as to be the most useful. They do not evade responsibilities but they do not seek adventures. And that is an adventure. The proof? A small group invaded, and was killed without anything remaining. There is not a single peasant who can say: there is an uprising which has called upon me to take power in Bolivia. Not a single one. There is nothing to compare with what the Syrian masses are doing, with what the masses of Vietnam are doing, with what the Cuban masses are doing in Cuba now. What the masses are doing now in Bolivia has nothing to do with the so called Guevara. This goes against all logic, all previous tradition. We call upon the Cuban government to have a public discussion on Guevara.

We repeat that this body is not that of Guevara. It is necessary to analyse politically. Guevara could not have been in Bolivia nor acted in the way that he was supposed to be acting in Bolivia. It was not Guevara who acted in this way, whoever else it was. We repeat that there are no guerrillas in Bolivia. They do not exist because there has been no evidence of their rôle. No action nor political life. There have only been the communiques of Barrientos of an assassin with whom Fidel Castro and world Capitalism allied to present Guevara in Bolivia.

Both have different interests. Fidel Castro has the intention of freeing himself from Guevara and trying to separate him from the masses: "Guevara has been assassinated, do not hope for any more from him." "I have nothing to do with that, I did not kill him", this is the object of Castro's game. Otherwise why such a parody? If he did not feel guilty for having been the accomplice in this assassination, why make such declarations? He could have said simply: "Guevara has been killed", and make a political history of Guevara and show that he was in Bolivia.

But then he would have showed it before in a programme, a revolutionary struggle. If Guevara had been living, in process of leading this struggle which Fidel Castro claims, he would have remained in Cuba. Because it was in Cuba that he was able to defend what he was defending. The proof of this is that it is in Cuba that a furious struggle is being conducted against the communist parties.

In the meeting of OLAS, there was a struggle against the communist parties, against the bureaucracy of the Workers States. It is there that Guevara needs to be. He was a centre from which basis it was possible to influence the rest of the world. The centralisation of life shows that it is the central organisms which influence. From the depths of Bolivia in a pass, in a cavern or in a precipice, it is not possible to influence the world revolution except in a very small way without importance. But in Cuba, it is possible.

OLAS is the proof of this. Why was Guevara not there? When they show that Guevara was outside this centre which was able to influence the entire world by the taking of certain positions, it is because they have liquidated him, otherwise he would have been there. This is the ignominious comedy which Fidel Castro is playing against the world revolution. It is an ignominious comedy which Fidel Castro is playing against the world revolution. It is an ignominious comedy and we invite him to correct it. The world working class is going to demand that he renders account.

We have entered into the final settlement of accounts. In this final encounter, the masses are going to demand account in liquidating Capitalism. There is only a short time before this takes place. Here is the struggle which they are going to conduct to vindicate Guevara. There is great need in Cuba to discuss publicly and openly. The Soviet bureaucracy in every way is the one that has gained for the moment. That is why in the Soviet Union they have hardly mentioned Guevara. There is no text in the Soviet Union, in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, an the other Workers States or in China. They barely say "Guevara is dead". They are his enemies.

One can see at the same time the stupidity of what the Chinese leadership is doing; not a word on Guevara. Why do they not intervene? They must intervene in this problem. That is part of the world revolution, of the permanent world process of the world revolution, of its world centralisation. The Chinese do not intervene because they have no programme, no policy, no objectives, no assurance for tomorrow. Otherwise they would intervene to condemn this comedy.

The Chinese are aware that Guevara has been assassinated. Their silence shows this. If they were sure that he had not been assassinated, they would make declarations as they do when an Albanian dies; an obituary. If they have not done this, it is because they do not wish to involve themselves in these manoeuvres, in these macabre comedies. But at the same time, they show that they lack security because otherwise they would make a condemnation. If they felt themselves to be sure, they would condemn and appeal in consequence to support the programme of Guevara.

To condemn the assassination of Guevara is to support the ideas of Guevara. That is why they made him die in an adventure, to hide the depth of his ideas, to show that Guevara was a man deceived and to consequently weaken his position and the policy which he defended until the moment when he was assassinated, to weaken the force, the influence, the capacity which he had acquired in this process. And he acquired this influence and this capacity by adopting Trotskyist positions. His positions were neither Castroite nor communist.

The positions which exist at present in history are: Trotskyist, Chinese, Guevarist, Fidelist and those of the Soviet bureaucracy. There are no other positions. Guevara approaches the Trotskyists but

Appeal to the Syrian Government

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

possible conditions to develop the triumph of the revolutionary military war.

The IV International calls to the Baath, to the Syrian Government, to the trade unions and to the federation of Syrian Trade Unions, to the International Federations of Arab Workers, so that they call to the Egyptian trade unions, to the United Socialist Party of Egypt, to the government and to the Egyptian masses to intervene in a united front to overthrow Capitalism and Imperialism in the Middle East.

In the name of the IV International we call to the Baath, to the Syrian government to carry forward this appeal for the Socialist unification of Syria, Iraq, Egypt and Algeria by agitation, on the radio, on the newspapers, with mobilisations and demonstrations in Syria, demonstrations calling to the rest of the Arab masses to take the land, to take the factories, and to form communes, soviets, to form workers, peasants and soldiers councils, to call the army to rebel against the leaders allied to Capitalism and Imperialsim, to call to the Jewish masses to rebel against their leaders and take the factories, and the land, to form communes and soviets to form workers and peasants governments. Now is the moment to do it. It is necessary to form revolutionary tendencies based on this programme. It is necessary to agitate, make demonstrations and meetings, it is necessary to hold popular tribunals so that the masses can directly judge the traitors and the conciliators with Imperialism. It is necessary to eliminate all the apparatus and structure on which the bourgeoisie is based: army, police, parliament and to create organs like militias, popular tribunals, workers control, soviets and communes. It is on the basis of the immense confidence in the world development of the Socialist Revolution, of the confidence demonstrated by the Syrian masses, that the IV International makes this appeal in unconditional defence of the Syrian Socialist Revolution, as of the Socialist Revolution in the Middle East and of all the world.

Long live the coming progress of the ion!

Long live the next progress of the Syrian Revolution and the Middle East! For the Socialist Soviet unification of all the Arab states, including the Jewish masses with self determination.

Enlarged meeting of the International Secretariat of the IV International.

The macabre farce . . .

in a distant way. That means that there is an enormous pressure in Cuba which rejects and condemns Fidel Castro and which comes from the revolutionary vanguard.

We appeal for the public discussion of the programme of the Socialist Revolution; a public discussion on the positions, the policy of Guevara, the moral stimulus. It is necessary to condemn the Soviet bureaucracy which represents the interests, gives aid as a function of its on material interests; to appeal for its intervention to defend the Arab states, Syria, Algeria, Iraq, Egypt, liquidating the Yankee army of Israel in the sevrice of Yankee Imperialism, intervening today to smash Imperialism and to overthrow it, to expropriate it! It is necessary to occupy the factories, the lands, the offices, to nationalise the banks, to nationalise all the Imperialist properties; to send the necessary military forces to intervene and smash Imperialism in Vietnam. We launch an appeal to discuss all that in Cuba, now. Such are the positions which Guevara arrived at and was defending. These are the positions for which he fought. That has nothing to do with an adventurer who goes to fight in silence in Bolivia.

That is absurd. It conflicts with the reasoning of people and every logical thought rejects it. The revolutionary is matured by logical thought, even if he does not arrive at a dialectical understanding; he was ripe for logical revolutionary thought and the former shows that advancement means not to go to Bolivia but to remain in Cuba, to be in Cuba to struggle.

We call for the unconditional defence of Cuba which Imperialism is preparing to invade, as it prepares the invasion of North Vietnam, as a step towards the invasion of China. It is a step also which prepares the invasion of Cuba. The Latin American bourgeoisie try to draw advantages from this situation for themselves. But they are ready on no matter what occasion to invade Cuba because there is no other historic class issue. It is necessary for the Latin American worker, peasant, student, intellectual, soldier alliance to expropriate Capitalism. The communist parties are each time more involved in the policy of conciliation with Capitalism. It is not these parties, nor the bureaucracy of Workers States who are going to defend the existence of Cuba. They are going to conciliate, to try to abondon Cuba, as was Stalin's practice. They allow Imperialism to bombard constantly and to enfeeble Vietnam and they are going to do the same thing for Cuba.

If at a certain moment they have to decide, and there is no possibility of containing the process, they would betray Cuba also. If they have not done so until now, it is because the Soviet masses are in process of advancing and are opposed to this and because the relation of world forces and the Workers States itself does not allow it. The Workers State is not the bureaucracy. The Workers State is the interest which the masses, the trade unions, the workers and the army represents, all of which oppose the bureaucracy abandoning Cuba and Vietnam.

But this situation cannot last for a long time. It is necessary to form soviets in Cuba. It is necessary to form soviets of which they themselves speak and say existed in Maban in 1933: the soviets with which the Soviet Workers State was constructed. They are the force which has allowed it to sustain seven years of the siege of world Capitalism and 20 years of historic isolation. It was able to support them thanks to the soviets. It was seven years of soviet life which allowed the Workers State to gather its historic force which have shown its capacity in the eyes of the world and led the world vanguard to resist, reject and combat every attack on the Soviet Union.

We call upon the Cuban government to render this discussion public, to appeal for the world united front to overthrow what remains of Capitalism, to appeal for the constitution of workers militias, for communes throughout Latin America, to appeal to the peasants to take the land, to give it to them, to appeal for the worker and peasant alliance, to appeal for the struggle for the worker and peasant government, for the Soviet Socialist Federation of Latin America. This Guevara defends. That was the logical conclusion.

We call for discussion in Cuba. We call for the construction of the revolutionary marxist party in Cuba, not only based on the trade unions, but a marxist revolutionary party in Cuba, the organic form of structure in Cuba. We call for the giving of a structured form to the Workers State, that is to say to construct soviets.

Cuba is a country whose economic structure is Socialist but the laws are bourgeois, it has a juridical bourgeois structure. It is necessary to construct soviets. We appeal for the organisation of the United Front. We appeal for the unconditional defence of Cuba, Vietnam, China, beginning with the essential base of this defence: the struggle in each country against the Capitalist system, the struggle for the worker, peasant alliance, land to the peasants; expropriation of Imperialism and of Capitalism and the taking of power; worker and peasant government. We appeal for all that. Such must be the basis of the discussion in Cuba.

The moral stimulus is not an abstraction. It is part of a programme. The proletariat in Fords, in the United States, shows that it is in process of advancing in this conception of the anti-Capitalist struggle. In North America, the pinnacle of Capitalism, the workers discuss the annual guaranteed wage: they show thus that they are receiving the influence of the world revolution.

These are not reformist conceptions but revolutionary conceptions. Annual guaranteed wage! neither the Communists in France nor those of Italy, North Africa make such demands. The North American workers do so. It is a sector which demonstrates, still in a limited fashion, the influence of the world revoltuion. It is the contradictory process of the North American masses, the concentrated and centralised process which the proletariat leads, without a class party, without an independant class trade union. It is the world influence of the revolution.

Guevara understood that. We invite the Cuban leaders and Fidel Castro to discuss this, to correct himself, so that he is not afraid to affront historic truth. The truth fears nothing. This is going to rehabilitate him. Let him tell the truth whatever the consequences. It will not have a bad effect on the working class. On the contrary, it is going to raise the morale of the Cuban leadership and give it historic security and more, a concrete immediate security.

It is necessary to demand the right for the Cuban masses to discuss all problems. It is necessary to organise demonstrations, meetings, assemblies, in which they discuss and decide on all the problems of the world revolution, on the Sino Soviet conflict, supporting the political revolution in China, condemning the policy of peaceful co-existence, and the objective alliance of the Soviet bureaucracy with Imperialism which allows the latter to continue to bombard Vietnam.

We launch an appeal for the organisation of this discussion, at the same time for the unconditional defence of Cuba in order to impel the development of the world revolution.

16 October 1967.

J. POSADAS

Editorial from page 1

Organise factory - tenant - student committees

of all the working class, for the plans of Capitalism will not be checked by sporadic mobilisations or partial strikes no matter how militant these might be. Now more than ever, concrete organisms in which the working class can freely discuss, make resolutions, and go forward to act on those resolutions, are neecssary. The absence of an organising centre can be compensated for by making each strike the centre of struggle for the region, and the struggle in the region the centre for a national mobilisation, as in part Roberts Arundel was beginning to be. In this period the factory committees must concern themselves not only with the factory struggle, but with all the problems confronting the exploited masses in this stage of the final decomposition of Capitalism. The committees must intervene, over rents organising rent strikes in alliance with the tenants committees, in struggles against price and fare increases etc. putting solutions to all these problems so that the exploited masses see them taking a lead in all the problems to which Capitalism has no answer, and in this way the masses will gain confidence in the committees and be attracted to them. The committees must have a regular democratic life and must formulate an anti-Capitailst programme of demands which will both defend the standard of living of the masses here and now, and at the same time win important positions along the road to the seizure of power. The demand must be made that all factories closed down or about to be closed down be nationalised without compensation and workers committees must occupy and run these factories selling the products where possible to the population, and at the same demanding interest free credits from the state to develop and modernise these factories. It is necessary to demand an immediate 10% increase of wages to compensate for the jump in the cost of living in addition to the general demand for an all round 30% increase, all wages to rise with the cost of living, 35 hour week paid as 40 hours, work sharing without loss of pay, nationalisation of the retail trade, large farms etc. without compensation and under workers control, to keep prices down. These are measures demanded by the present stage of the crisis of Capitalism and the winning of these positions will not only safeguard the standard of life of the masses but will win important positions from Capitalism, tilting the balance of forces still more in favour of the masses and bringing closer the final overthrow of the Capitalist system.

Freedom for the Spanish Trotskyists

5 Comrades have been recently arrested in Seville

The comrades, members of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) Spanish Section of the IV International are JOSE BELLINDO MORENO, JOAQUIN VARA LACHARO, GONZALO TOLEDANO CRESPO, JOSE FERNANDEZ SASTRE.

This is the second time this year, that comrades of the section have been arrested while the development of the authority of the P.O.R.(T) has grown at the same time as the crisis of the Spanish regime has increased, as a part of the world social and economic crisis, of world Capitalism. This is against the influence and authority which the trotskyists are in process of gaining in the United Revolutionary Front within FUDE, the organisation of the Spanish student vanguard, which the repression has tried to break. But this does not prevent FUDE from continuing all its revolutionary activity! the comrades have recently published 'COMUNA' the revolutionary organ of the organisation; at the same time the Secretariat of the FUDE outside Spain have just published the first number of their monthly bulletin; this is the dynamic and combative response of the vanguard, and fundamentally of the Trotskyist comrades.

We make an appeal to all the revolutionary vanguard, to the communist and socialist militants, in particular to the students, to address their protests to the ambassador to demand the immediate liberation of our arrested comrades!

To obtain "Lucha Obrera" organ of the Spanish Section of the IV International and all of the publications of Fude apply to the address of the British Section. The bulletin of the exterior Secretariat of FUDE in English can be obtained from our address.

Marie-Anne Roc'Hongar

As we go to press we do not know of the result of the new trial of this comrade, held on the 8th Jan. Nevertheless we urge all worker and student militants to demand her release by writing to the French Embassy, 59 Knightsbridge, S.W.1.

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Cubans, by the Communist Parties of the world.

The nationalist movements of Asia, Africa, Latin America have shown that they receive, that they welcome the influence of the world revolution. They express it when they adopt immediately economic and social positions which correspond to the Workers State, not to the Capitalist state. And these tendencies show immediately the influence of the world revolution. And these tendencies who welcome the revolutionary measures of the Workers States which correspond to Socialism and not to Capitalism show that they are disposed to advance and consolidate themselves. Why? Because it is no longer a question of political measures, but programme, theoretical comprehension, political objectives. It is this which expresses the force of the revolution: It has no orientation or example. The U.S.S.R., China, Cuba, and the Communist Parties do not act as a guide to orientate, to develop and to continue such positions. On the contrary the U.S.S.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia, launch themselves against these movements to smash them, so that they do not advance towards contitution of the Workers States. The only way to advance towards Workers States is by the Socialist Revolution. The bureaucracy would support expropriations, nationalisations, if it was possible to advance without consequences, without opposition from Capitalism, without a revolutionary struggle. But experience, objective and daily facts, shows that if it is possible to expropriate, to advance within certain limits in various ways, the Socialist Revolution remains necessary to advance towards the Workers State. And the bureaucracy is against this, it fights and represses in two ways: directly, in supporting, in stimulating counter revolutionary tendencies, and on a world scale, in discouraging the development of the revolution as the policy of the Communist Parties in France and in Italy has done. These are the forces which oppress and repress the forces of the world revolution. China, with the development of the revolution tends to liberate these forces. It shows that one can combat, reject, the forces which the Soviet bureaucracy directs, the Workers States and the Communist Parties. This is the immense role of China, as the force which liberates the oppressed and repressed forces of the world revolution and which tends to unify them.

The movement in China is limited because they have no programme, they are empirical, completely empirical! They do not guide, they do not base themselves on, they have not as their objectives, a previous programme, a Marxist programme. They do not possess it; they are impelled by revolutionary aspirations and objectives, but they do not base themselves on the programme. This is the empirical action of the revolution. It is the immense force of the Workers State, the immense pressure of the 700 million revolutionary Chinese who have made their voice heard in history, without an instrument, because there is no party. It is a force which is more powerful than all the nuclear arms of Imperialism.

But there is no leadership, and there is no long historic waiting period for the emergence of a world leadership. It is the most urgent task of history. There is no historic waiting period for the organisation of the leadership, that is to say there cannot be as in the past a process of years of discussions, of congresses, of changes of position. Neither Capitalism or the Soviet bureaucracy has the time to sustain such perspectives; they have not the time nor the social or economic possibilities. The Capitalist system remains standing for two fundamental reasons—all the others are auxiliary. First its economy is a permanent war economy. Its language, its relations, its thought are the language relations and thought of war. Everything is destined for war, war, war. Everything which Capitalism stands for is determined by the objective of the war; not the war against another Capitalist country, but the final settlement of accounts, to defend itself from the final assault of the revolution. Such is the Capitalist economy. Socially it has no strength because constantly the revolution stimulates, extends the circle, including sectors, social layers, each time more numerous of the population, which escape the Capitalist system, oppose it and fight it. The United States is the determining example. It is not the economic factors which decide this stage of history, no. It is not the economic factor nor military force. It is the human aspiration to free itself from every oppression. The stage which Marx prophesied in 1848 has already arrived.

THE ENCYCLICAL OF THE POPE IS AN ATTEMPT BY THE CHURCH TO SAVE ITSELF AND SAVE WHAT REMAINS OF CAPITALISM, IN ALLIANCE WITH THE SOVIET BUREAUCRACY

The speech of the Pope is not destined to alleviate the economic situation of one or another sector of the exploited masses. The speech of the Pope was destined to try to save the church as a religious institution and to save what he can of Capitalism in alliance with the Soviet bureaucracy. That is the basis of the discourse of the Pope. And the Pope must make such a discourse because he feels that the social base on which he is based and aspires to support himself answers to him no longer. The whole structure of the church is influenced by the advance of the revolution and the revolution recomposes it. The church recently had recourse to urgent, adventitious, means to reinforce itself and to support Capitalism. And this is church unity, the unity of all the pigs. But the pigsty is not sufficiently

big for them. They have tried to make a united front to reorganise their forces. And it has revealed that not one sector of the church remains free from the contamination, including Mohhamed, the Buddha and the Goddess who has 14 feet and 14 arms; she has 14 feet to run with! But that is no use to Capitalism, because all its escape routes are blocked. When the Pope after having tried other means is obliged to have recourse to such an encyclical, it is because the structure of the church is already in decomposition.

In the recent Council they held, Ottaviani, was the 'sinister' wing and the other wing was less sinister. In this discussion they were demonstrating that a sector of the church, which wants to yield to the reforms—that of Ottaviani—is for the elimination of the concentrated force of the church and for the opening to the influences of the Workers State, not of the Workers States so as to transform the church, but the Workers States as meaning the centre of the world revolution, for the Workers States and among them China are influencing the young and middle layers and decomposing them, because they orientate the social understanding of the lower layers of the church not towards Capitalism but towards a new social form, which the Workers State is. They felt that the Workers State was influencing the church.

Before this encyclical of the Pope the curés were already smoking; they had decided that the cure's could smoke, drink, ride bicycles, associate with women, and marry. A lot of these concessions were contained in the reform of the church. They were concessions allowing them to maintain, to keep control, a domination of the lower clergy, and at the same time to be able to attract new layers to the church. But all that was not sufficient. The Pope has had to declare that he is against Capitalism. The Pope does not accuse Communism, he accuses Capitalism. He accuses it of causing famine, social malaise throughout the world, underdevelopment. He does not accuse either Communism, subversions, Fidel Castro, Ho Chi Minh, nor Mao Tse Tung. As opposed to the bourgeoisie of these countries, he ignores them. But on the other hand he says to the Yanks "What are you doing in Vietnam"? It is an underdeveloped country which you are in process of oppressing." He points out the forces opposed to Capitalism. The Pope is obliged to make such declarations, because there is an immense struggle within the church, which prepares a new schism. The schism exists already. The speech of the Pope is a schism. That it may become an actual or concrete schism or not is of no importance. But there is already a schism in the church. The function of the church is not to act in the way the Pope is acting; it is to be the constant defender and guardian to control the spirit, the sentiment, the consciousness of the religious masses to maintain them within Capitalism. And if they do the contrary, it is because they are trying to save themselves as an organisation. The church can do that, not that it is against Capitalism, but because it has a certain independence vis a vis Capitalism. It does not rely directly on commerce, on the finances, nor on the commercial relations of Capitalism. It has a certain social independence from Capitalism, as a body, as a structure. Thus it can play this role. It has not a direct interest in the stock exchange, in production and in sales. It does not depend directly on such means, so it can take an independent attitude. That is what makes it easier to save itself.

They try to save themselves, to save Capitalism, in alliance with the Soviet bureaucracy. The alliance of the Soviet bureaucracy, peaceful co-existence, passes from an alliance with the Americans, to the alliance with the church. In a little time we will see the concrete evidence. The attitude of the bureaucracy towards the church has to express itself concretely. The attitude of the Soviet bureaucracy, the attitude of the Pope means at the same time that there is no more possibility of manoeuvre with peaceful co-existence between the Workers States, and Capitalism and Imperialism. This possibility is in process of exhausting itself.

This declaration of the Pope has an immense importance. It shows that they have no more confidence in arms, that they are no longer sure that the arms of Imperialism are going to be able to sustain the Capitalist system. The speech of the Pope does not refer to the present, he speaks for tomorrow. It is a speech which denies Capitalism the possibility of lasting. If it was otherwise, the Pope would base himself on atomic arms, he would stimulate his faithful to hope in the nuclear arms of Imperialism to decide and destroy the Workers States and the revolution. But he does not speak of that, he speaks on the contrary of social solutions; people live badly, why are there people who have a great deal and others who have nothing?—he says—and he speaks of controlled collectivisation: the Pope has arrived at admitting collectivisation. The church, allows collectivisation because its lower sectors and middle sectors are already contaminated! They are contaminated! It is the same state of affairs in the army. The leaders who command, the sergeants, the young officers, see that all their orders are rejected. For the church it is the same thing, it denounces the fact that Capitalism is preparing to give a despairing blow that will fall in the void. If the world bourgeoisie had confidence in a tomorrow, the church would show this. But the church does not say anything to Capitalism such as "Launch the nuclear war," because it feels that this is not the solution, and that they are all going to die. For this reason it tries to give its own blow, it tries to arrange matters.

The policy of peaceful co-existence has gone as far as it can, and we believe that it is in its last stage. That is the significance of the Popes declaration. But it shows also that the world bourgeoisie have advanced immensely in their defeatist statements. The Pope is the unified concentration of the defeatist sentiments of the world bourgeoisie. The Soviet bureaucracy tries to make use of this declaration of the Pope as a means of allying with the church. Before the discourse of the Pope there was a number of other preparations; the interview of pig Podgorny with the pig Pope, the interview of the Kruschev type with the interview of Gromyko; but the other interviews in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania are more important than the preceding one. In these last events, the Pope has seen the effective disposition of the Soviet bureaucracy to make concessions. These are not declarations in the abstract. On the contrary the bureaucracy has given evidence, in Poland it has made important concessions, in Czechoslovakia and Rumania also. It has done nothing more, because it has met resistance, and the church feels the difficulties of the bureaucracy, and it feels its good faith. There is a united front. This policy of the bureaucracy is logical. There is no great distance between the alliance with the Pope and the economic reforms, the autonomy of the enterprises is a logical conclusion.

The autonomy of enterprises leads to a hybrid form between the Workers States and Capitalism. It is a retreat, it is a hybrid form, it needs a social base of support. The masses of the Workers States cannot support that, but the bureaucracy is not able any longer to turn to Capitalism, it is the church which serves as a base of urgently needed support. The bureaucracy seeks to sustain itself, it seeks a force to uphold itself and to dispute with Capitalism. The Soviet bureaucracy seeks for a new social base of support. It feels that the social base of Capitalism is liquidating itself, it sees that Vietnam advances, and that American Imperialism in Vietnam is not going to stop but is going to continue. Its alliance with the church is going to contain Imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy has already given a boost to the church, so that it is disposed to make pacts. Not only does it accept a certain independance of the church and the partial re-establishment of its functions in Poland, Czechoslovakia and even in the U.S.S.R., but they do not have an aggressive attitude towards the church. The church and the Soviet bureaucracy have certain common interests. Capitalism cannot do otherwise than defend the Capitalism system. The church has a certain independence of the Capitalist apparatus and can try to replace it. This is not the first time that there have been schisms in the church. These are vain attempts. There is no place for a replacement by the church. But these attempts which are made as with the Soviet bureaucracy are an attempt to save themselves.

The importance of this attitude of the Pope lies in the fact that the church, the ideological, theological, spiritual guardian of Capitalist sentiments, in order to sustain itself cannot make an appeal to defend the Capitalist system, but has to oppose it. This is its pessimism. It is a concentrated defeatist sentiment. It is no longer a question of De Gaulle or Kennedy, but of the church. It directs a whole pressure to try to contain American Imperialism so that it will negotiate in Vietnam. There is no place for any negotiation. The interests of American Imperialism which is the real representative of world Capitalism do not allow an historic base in order to negotiate in Vietnam. Every negotiation in Vietnam is an immense retreat for it and for the whole of Capitalism. This shows the blindness of Capitalism. This stage in which the revolution is concentrating itself, elevating itself in a concentrated manner: China, Vietnam, Cuba, Italy, Belgium, where the advance and the struggle of the masses concentrates itself, demands of Capitalism a similar concentration to respond to the process. And Capitalism fragments not only in various Capitalist sectors, because of economic competitions, but divides itself socially, divides itself in the comprehension and the objective interest of the population; this shows the absence of historic security of Capitalism. This disintegration of Capitalism, expressed by the Pope is not produced in a moment of great economic crisis in the great Capitalist countries. On the contrary, there is a great economic evolution. The reason for the crisis is not economic but social. Germain, Pablo, Frank, Maitain, gave to Capitalism thirty, forty, a hundred years of life and they are either as Pablo, agents of the Yugoslav bureaucracy, or, as the rest of them, of Capitalism or of bureaucratic tendencies in their own countries, and when they were the leaders of the International, they wanted the International to consider a period of development of Capitalism of thirty or forty years, of development of the Common Market and they believed that the Common Market was going to arrange the world economically. But the Common Market has changed nothing in Europe, it has not contained and does not contain the crisis. It has not developed to contain the crisis in any European country. In another stage of history the factor which decided the progress of the world was the economy. Today it is not the economy, it is the social struggles which decide. And the social struggles which, as in France for example do not reflect themselves yet in all their power, because the proletariat cannot take power, reflect themselves indirectly in the discourse of the Pope. The concentrated and centralised process finds reflection in the discourse of the Pope.

The Italian masses who have shown an immense revolutionary capacity, revolutionary continuity, centralisation, concentration, have not been able to take

under a form each time more tenacious and powerful, the influence of the world revolution. They receive it and apply it. That is our force.

The understanding of this process is the basis for the organisation of the revolutionary leadership. It is not a question of inventing small groups. The basis for this revolutionary leadership exists already. The Communist Party is powerful, it has an immense force. The Socialist parties of France, Italy, Germany, Great Britain, are powerful, They have an immense force, but the masses have not supported and do not support capitalism. The bureaucracy of the German Socialist party in spite of all its desire and interest to conciliate with capitalism despite the fact that it has suppressed Marxism from its texts and programme, in spite of its declaration that it no longer bases itself on Marxism, it has not been able to make the German masses submit to German capitalism. It was not a simple allegorical statement.

To organise the revolutionary leadership, it is necessary to consider what has happened in China, in Cuba and in Brazil. But also in Germany, because in Germany, the revolutionary tendency once organised, the proletariat is going to organise itself, free itself from its capitalist leadership immediately. It is certain that capitalism is not going to allow the revolutionary leadership to develop without intervening with the nuclear war. It is forseeable. It is in process of happening in China. But capitalism is not going to prevent the revolution developing, advancing and progressing, to a very advanced degree. Why was it not able to prevent Cuba, China?

THE WHOLE STRUCTURE OF CAPITALISM IS DIRECTED TO THE PREPARATION OF THE COUNTER REVOLUTIONARY WORLD WAR

Why could it not prevent Vietnam? Capitalism is going to reply with the nuclear war, it is inevitable there is no other historic response. It tried to reply economically in 1917 against the U.S.S.R. but it renounced this competition and prepared for war: it understood, it felt that it could not compete with the Workers States economically, that the Workers State is superior. And on the contrary the Workers State, decomposes its (Capitalism's) structure, because it takes away its base of social support. Imperialism is preparing the nuclear war. But it does not decide the nuclear war when it wishes, but when it can. And one of the conditions which is imposed on capitalism which it has to contain, is the development of the revolution. Why did it not invade Cuba? Why did it not prevent the Cuban revolution? Why did it not prevent the revolution in Africa?

German capitalism already knew for some time that the socialist party has abandoned Marxism. They made this declaration, to say to capitalism; we propose to make a docile, very docile movement, which is submitted to capitalism. Good and what does a docile instrument mean? that the masses submit themselves to German capitalism, not directly, but through the German socialist bureaucracy. The most immediate form of this docility which they seek, is the disintegration of the qualities, of the interests, of the historic representation of the proletariat; the trade unions. As never before the masses are concentrated in the Trade Union.

The Trade Unions of capitalist Germany have accepted reuniting with the trade unions of the German Workers state, to carry out a common policy. Even though there is no information on this, it is a policy common not only with respect to the unification of the Workers States but to confront capitalism. And the one who is weakened is not the Workers State, it is the capitalist state, it is the trade unions who have united. But at the same time it is a measure of pressure against the Soviet Bureaucracy, because East Germany is one of the gambling stakes of the Soviet bureaucracy, and the bureaucracy of the German Workers State, in order to defend itself, acts as do the Rumanians to try to have a point of support, in order to stop the diplomatic game of the Soviet bureaucracy.

As never before the masses support the Socialist Parties. The leadership of the German Socialist Party follows its road, of alliance with capitalism, but the German masses no. The German worker aristocracy yes, but the German masses no. If the German masses abandoned their historic class perspective, they would not vote for the socialist party. They would support the German miracle—which is no longer a miracle—it remains no more with them than the Virgin Mary—they would seek to support the German miracle to extract the best advantage. But they are opposed to the German miracle, they struggle against it in the trade union movement, because among themselves, their historic function is firm, constant, unalterable; their function as being representative of the progress of German society, their function of welcoming the influence of the world revolution and transmitting it to Germany, to organise it in the particular conditions of Germany. The German proletariat is intact. Germany seems to be the country most accessible to the corruption of important layers of the proletariat by capitalism. But capitalism has failed. In England it is the same thing. Why did it not prevent the movement in Berkeley, in the U.S.A.?

The Communist Party, the bureaucracy of the Workers States presents American imperialism as a master which does what it likes. That is a lie. We insist why did it not prevent the mobilisations in Berkeley? It was an immense blow. And why was it not able to prevent the Kennedy affair being brought into broad daylight why? Imperialism has the force to launch the nuclear war but it has not the social force to decide when it wishes. The Communists profit from this conclusion to justify peaceful co-existance. This is false. Capitalism cannot declare war when it wishes but it is going to unleash the war in every way. That is to say that we can gain immense historic delays to make the revolution advance

with the greatest extention, to diminish the disasters which capitalism is going to cause with the nuclear war.

Imperialism is preparing to launch the nuclear war. All its spirits, its preoccupation, its investigations, its scientific pre-occupation, social and economic pre-occupation are concentrated on the nuclear war. But that does not mean to say that it is going to occur when it wishes and at any moment. It seeks the opportunity to launch it. And it hesitates to launch it because it is afraid of finishing itself off, of liquidating itself. The discussion within American imperialism indicates the agony of capitalism and of imperialism. They feel that the nuclear war is the abyss, not historically but from the objective and concrete point of view. They see today even that they have no future; for that they have no science, no preparation for after the nuclear war. They admit that the nuclear war is going to kill 120 million Americans in half an hour. This means half the population of the United States. This means that they will have historic problems which they cannot control. How can they prepare for this future? The revolution is preparing for this future, objectively in a disorganised way. It has imposed an empirical order. There are a succession of events which are not determined by a programme. But the masses advance with the decision to triumph. Even if they have not the material means, they are prepared for after the nuclear war. They show it today; in administering, in controlling the economy, in living today as they are able, their vital preoccupation is not in eating, living, having a house and material satisfaction. The masses are prepared. For these other people, life is to have a car, television, people to exploit, people from whom to take money; that is to say to enjoy life for themselves. That is foreign to the sentiment of harmony. This is a private enjoyment, an illegitimate enjoyment because it is not destined to make life progress but to make life retreat. The legitimate enjoyment of life, is that which engenders human progress. There is no more complete way of enjoying life. And those who are not prepared for that, are not able to prepare themselves, because their interests and their way of life do not allow it.

In the other wars, capitalism prepared for stages after the war, to develop the economy, to replace the rivals which it had destroyed. It eliminated them to take their place. It had a field of industrial development. But here after the nuclear war? There is no literature for after the war. Capitalism is in a state of inertia which shows its complete insecurity. There exists a fantasy literature, of science fiction, but no preparation for concrete actions; that is to say it is losing its strength. Why? Its situation in the economy prevents it from seeing tomorrow and from thinking of tomorrow, because the whole structure of the capitalist system is going to be destroyed. They are going to launch the war because they have no other means of replying to try to contain the revolution. But the Chinese revolution develops. Vietnam resists and triumphs; Vietnam is a centre which decomposes, disintegrates and rebuffs imperialism. China elevates the advance of the revolution, and is a political centre of attention of concentration of action for the entire world. The masses of the U.S.S.R. observe what is happening in China, to be able themselves to enter upon the scene; it is thus that the revolution can reach other countries, in Africa, Asia, Latin America. The revolution does not await authorisation by capitalism, it advances! It is necessary to make it advance to the maximum. They are going to unleash the war, but that is not going to hinder the advance of the revolution. The more the revolution extends itself and develops, the less time the nuclear war is going to last, and the more rapid will be the elimination of imperialism and the soviet bureaucracy.

The whole capitalist system is preoccupied with its survival. Its preoccupation is not to create nor to produce, but to survive. It is the same in the industrial branches where it sees itself obliged to compete in order to advance to compete with the workers states; even in these branches, they make discoveries strictly necessary for competition, nothing more; not in order to increase the rhythm of the assembly lines, production and productivity (it could be made 10 times greater) because all its energies and its productive capacity are for nuclear weapons. Thus this reduces its capacity for industrial production. The Soviet-American convention on the non proliferation of nuclear arms serves basically to prevent the other capitalist countries, and the "underdeveloped" countries and also the other workers states producing nuclear energy to be used for industry. They make this concentration to eliminate the competitors. Because to make nuclear arms, it is necessary to disintegrate the atom and this disintegration is useful for thousands of things. And in the second place, it is so as not to have rivals with Atomic Arms to be able to compete. They make a division of the world but they have no social base, social or military forces to impose it. But in spite of the concentration of the spirit of capitalism and the preparation for the nuclear war, it is unable, despite its survival, to prevent its own constant division. It increases, it elevates its military capacity. But it increases also its division, because it lacks confidence and security. For the survival of capitalism, reason determines that they should all be united, because they are all threatened. They are unified in the face of the revolution, but unification demands a leadership, a single political leadership which determines the action, the leadership of yankee imperialism. But there is more division than ever! Each capitalist state tries to save itself. It does not desert its counter-revolutonary policy, it cannot abandon this policy because it is part of its life, it coresponds to its existence. But when the capitalist states have to conflict politically, in commercial relations which immediately, implies politics and this has influences in the social development of the capitalist states, it is because the capitalist state, the capitalist class has lost confidence in the future. It has no confidence in the future whatsoever,

THE NORTH AMERICAN MASSES ARE INFLUENCED BY THE WORLD RISE OF THE REVOLUTION

American imperialism cannot sustain a superficial discussion on the Kennedy affair; the Johnson Kennedy polemic, the assassination of all the existing witnesses, are an indication of this. And the Kennedy sector utilises the Kennedy case to try to prevent the others launching the war now. They are only divided on the question of time, and nothing more. One side is the great industrial war sector, which can only live with a policy of war, the other is the industrial sector having a certain interest in the commercial development of the world. There is no possibility of conciliating these two interests. Capitalism can only exist in preparing itself for the war, and in making the war at any instant. For that reason the Kennedy sector cannot utilise the weapons which it has in its hands to blackmail the Pentagon sector, it cannot utilise all the means it has to blackmail, because that would disclose publically the total decomposition of capitalism, their general complicity in the assassination of Kennedy. They are all compromised; those who have done the killing and those who know that the others have done the killing, and do nothing about it. And that is their national patriotic interest: "The fatherland above everything" as they say. Particularly as the revolution is nearby.

They cannot make this situation public, and the Kennedy sector cannot utilise it in its competition with the other sector because it is afraid of North American public opinion, and feels itself to be weak. And moreover they feel that the North American petit bourgeoisie and the North American proletariat are influenced by the world revolution. The case of Reuther—which we have analysed in our article on the United States—(1) shows that a sector of the proletariat, even without supporting Vietnam is against the intervention in Vietnam. It does not support Vietnam, but it does not wish to follow American imperialism. It does not support capitalism, it has broken with it. And it breaks, in the stage where capitalism has more than ever needed its support, of its unconditional support to intervene in Vietnam, in China. When this sector of the trade unions withdraws, it is because it expresses, not only the will of the car workers but a state of public opinion. Reuther does not have a strength of his own, nor of his trade union, he expresses a state of public opinion. The force of the revolution is concentrated in the United States in the same way as in the entire world. It is advancing more slowly, indirectly, but when it will break out, it will be more direct and more powerful. The power of the nuclear weapons of Yankee imperialism is inferior to the force which will come from the North American proletariat. Reuther shows that the North American masses are immensely concerned to oppose the sinister plans of North American Capitalism.

The more the revolution advances and progresses, the more it engenders conditions, favourable conditions to block and defeat American imperialism, above all because it is going to stimulate the North American masses. The state of public opinion in North America is determined, not by the plans of imperialism, but by the concern with what is happening in the rest of the world.

The American university sector is not responding to the public interest aroused by the North American press but to the public interest stimulated by the world situation, that is to say, by the world revolution. Whereas imperialism needs complete submission to intervene in Vietnam.

There is no divergence within imperialism with respect to Vietnam and the war. The existing divergencies refer to the questions of tactic and time. The sector which is interested in the commercial market believes in a longer delay, in profiting more from the policy of the Soviet bureaucracy of peaceful co-existance. The sector which lives only from the war industry realises that if production stagnates, it loses its strength and its economic power within American society and the world. This then is the source of their divergence. The more the revolution advances, the more the American masses are going to elevate their struggles within the United States. They will not do it directly in favour of China or Vietnam but in posing the class demands, in acting under an independent form, a class form. For that reason the attitude of the student sector is important. In their actions they are not guided by the social interests of imperialism, but by their own. Although the north American masses are not supporting China and Vietnam, the attitude of Reuther represents an indirect support, because its resolution is an obstacle for the plans of imperialism. The world struggle of the masses stimulates the American masses to pose their own demands, and it is this which damages imperialism. On the other hand the masses are directly against the intervention in Vietnam, without supporting Vietnam. Why? It is in the United States that one can least expect the direct, expression of the masses to enforce the withdrawal of imperialism from Vietnam. However if the car workers are not able to support Vietnam, but they are against the intervention, it is because the proletariat is in process of discussing. In the first stage, it discusses, tomorrow it is going to intervene.

Once the nuclear war has begun, the American proletariat is not going to run to the aid of Yankee imperialism, it is going to put forward its own demands, amongst others the liquidation of imperialism. The more the revolution advances, the more it is preparing the North American workers to overthrow Capitalism and the more rapidly the world will reconstruct itself and advance to socialism. We reiterate that all the fears of the nuclear war are only motivated by the uncertainty in the future.

(1) "Vietnam, the Political revolution in China, the need for the Workers Party based on the Trade Unions and the struggle for Socialism in the U.S.A." J. Posadas 16 Feb. 1967.

THE MASSES PREPARE FOR THE FINAL ENCOUNTER WITH CAPITALISM WITH THE ABSOLUTE CONFIDENCE IN THE SOCIALIST FUTURE OF HUMANITY

Capitalism is afraid because it is going to disappear. The petit bourgeoisie and certain sectors closer to the masses, are afraid because they are not sure of the future. In the same way as the petit bourgeoisie is afraid of being collectively part of the world and fears for his individuality in face of the world.

Those who fear the nuclear war do so because they have no confidence in the future; humanity has an absolute confidence in the future. It is the bureaucrats, the leaders of the Communist party the leaders of the Socialist Party, of the Workers States who are afraid of the nuclear war, and they are ready even to yield the position gained by the revolution, by the colonial revolution, by the strikes, by the great movements; they are disposed to hand them over to capitalism, because they are afraid of the future. The masses of Vietnam, of China, of Cuba, are not afraid. Cuba in 1962, beseiged and encircled, trembled, yes it trembled . . . it trembled with the hoots of laughter of the Cubans!!! The same day of the invasion of Cuba, there was a Soviet Circus, which was as full as ever. The journalists and the comrades themselves from Cuba, remarked on the significance of that: the Cuban people were not afraid. They had no fear of the threats of bombardment, people said in the Circus: "When the bombing begins, tell me." "But you will hear the bombs." "No, because I am going to laugh at the Soviet bears." At the time of Playa Giron, the whole population went to work to replace those on military service. They knew nothing about industry. They had never worked a machine. Normally to learn about a machine, a drill, a hand saw, a cutter, several days are necessary. But people worked and knew how to do it in only two minutes. This shows that society can suppress all that load of walls which they call universities. Walls, doors, locks, for the many idiots inside who give courses. All this is going to be suppressed and it is practical life which is going to teach. This is the university of the future. On the other hand today, it is to study, so as afterwards to exploit what was learnt; it is commerce, an exploitation of everything which the university has taught. It sells, it tries to sell—in place of a mass of objects—the mass of things which it has learnt. The Cuban masses learnt everything in a week. And in China they are learning in a week what it has taken a year of apprenticeship in the capitalist countries and even in the other workers states. This shows what the masses are going to do tomorrow. Tomorrow they are going to destroy everything and begin everything.

Capitalism believes that the world is going to be destroyed because it believes that the world will be just as it imagines it. It judges the world in relation to what it believes possible to think: when one takes power from it, it falls dead. Whilst the masses, when one takes everything from them, continue. They take four branches two wires, two lice, and they go forward; the masses learn, by doing. A Vietnam child of 8 struggles at the side of its mother and its grandmother; its grandmother and its mother die and it continues and takes the rifle and feels itself integrated with life, because it is integrated with history, with the process of history. Its mother its father die and it continues to live; and the objective of its life is neither its father nor its mother, it is to impel human progress of which it feels itself a part. Only this can give conviction, when there is a world sentiment that socialism is not only possible, but also realisable.

The children of Aden who use machine guns, are children in form, in the way of measuring their space of years, but basically they are as adult as any of us. They are children in form because they are 8 or 10 years old, but they take decisions which correspond to adults. There is the world revolution which indicates the sentiments and the decisions and within a little time we are going to see it in the most remote regions of Thailand, which is one of the countries most backward not solely economically but socially where in each zone of the forest there are 15 tribes, 15 different languages, where still they live as in a primitive period. But now they have sent helicopters to destroy communist centres, there in Thailand.

The children of the world are represented in Vietnam, Santo Dominico, and also in Aden. The Congress must incorporate the living example of what we have been talking about for 10 years: childhood does not exist except as a way of going through a stage of life nothing more, there is no more childhood. What differentiated humanity socially was, the baby, the child, the youth, and afterwards the adult. This is finished. Chronological separation is finished. Because what separated people is ability. You have to take the child by the hand, and you have to feed him; you had to teach him to do things, you had to take care that he didn't get into difficulties, by frightening him, by saying to him that a guy would come in the night and carry him off, and now if we say to a child of 6 years old "If you don't behave yourself an old man will come along and take you away in a sack." the child will say "Ah I'll get him, it'll be a yank." A child of six years grasps his machine gun and says "let him come." The differentiation due to age is over. That is socialism. The child works with the sentiment of social responsibility as he is going to work in socialism. He works not as a child but as an individual in society who feels that this is what it is necessary to do, because it is best for everyone. There is socialism, there is collective sentiment. The responsibility of the children of Aden moved me, made me cry last night when I read the reports, this is a demonstration of socialism, this is socialism. And to think some people believe that the atomic bomb is going to frighten them! What difference is there between a child who sees the Yanks, or British Imperialism, armed as it is, with the atomic bomb? What is the difference. There isn't

onstrates in a most concrete form the drive for national-
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fere with the functioning of capitalism. The TUC proposals tend to create a functioning uncontrolled by the laws of capitalist accumulation.

All this must be related to the question of the budget. British capitalism has to be sustained by vast loans. But this in itself no longer guarantees obedience to capitalist wishes when the Labour government has to respond to popular pressures. On the question of the budget the TUC has to intervene and all the forces of the left in the Labour Party with demands that take the budget outside the confines of alleviation or hardness within the terms of the system. Capitalism is complaining of the shortage of cash, the low level of profitability (they have consistently exported capital and are notorious for their lack of interest in investment) so they want prices jacked up and more government funds. To hell with all this. They have shown themselves to be masters

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THE ELECTORAL V
OF THE LABOUR P

J. POSADAS

The fundamental aspect about the British elections is that it is a crisis of the capitalist system, not of the Labour Party. The Labour Party lost 200,000 votes compared with the previous election, but in the proportion of voters, in which the state of the country is shown, it has increased decisively, whereas the losses for the Conservatives are quite considerable.

The right has left the Labour Party, although not all, because Jenkins remains. A fundamental part of the right is gone. It sabotaged the Party and made a whole propaganda against the Party immediately before the elections. It was orchestrated and prepared a few days before the elections, to have an electoral effect. The bourgeoisie sought to organise electoral blows as it seeks fascist ambushes and actions of civil war. A very marked sabotage was carried out by the Labour right. Nevertheless, the Labour Party lost only 200,000 votes. But in relation to the total reduction in the number of voters, it increased by a very considerable proportion. It is evident that the abstention did not mean any support for the Conservatives, it was against them. The Labour Party lost votes through the people who went. But on the other hand, the active trade unionised petit bourgeoisie, was won by the Labour Party. The Labour Party lost in quantity of votes but its electoral quality increased. This is going to be shown in the next events. It is a concentration of votes around the Labour Party which is going to have very great consequences immediately, not electorally, but socially. And it is going to have a very great effect on Germany, France, and Italy.

The loss of votes for the Labour Party is small but they have gained enormously in quality. It is the same process which happened in Germany. The Social Democratic Party although winning the elections, lost votes. We said that this was due to the loss of the right, which before made an activity against it, and attracted no-one. This shows the solidity, the the solid structure of the votes of the working class, which attracted the rest of the population, attracts it, and makes it feel secure. This vote for the working class shows its attractive force for the rest of the population. It has a confidence in the working class to exert a pressure on the Socialist, and Communist parties, and on the trade unions. This is also the significance of the elections in Britain.

The victory is much more important than in previous elections. It has been achieved with a quite advanced programme of anti-capitalist measures. It is a more defined vote, because it is determined by the attraction of the workers' vanguard over the rest of the population. It means that the vanguard has attracted the rest of the population and has used it to make a mass pressure on the Party.

A basic sector of the Labour right has gone, not all the right, but yes, a fundamental sector. And together with this the weight of the trade unions as a sector of government has increased enormously,

Denounce the bombings organised by capitalism

We denounce the latest series of bombings organised by the terrorist teams of British Imperialism. As we pointed out in relation to the Guildford bombings, British capitalism has the objective of trying to associate these provocations with Marxists in order to frighten sectors of the petit bourgeoisie and sectors of the Labour Party advancing towards Marxism. In the latest episode they invented "Red Flag 74" which they claimed was linked with an "international" organisation. This is a clear attempt to create confusion with the newspaper of the IV International (Posadist), "Red Flag". In the same way but on a far larger scale the assassins of the CIA launched a campaign centred in Argentina against Posadas saying that the International was responsible for bombings and assassinations. The campaign on "Red Flag 74" was quickly abated by other bourgeois sectors because it could lead to many embarrassments particularly if the bourgeois security services tried to intervene against the party. It was a campaign without a perspective, launched in part because the party has denounced the imperialist instigators of the Guildford bombings, in factories, Labour Parties and universities. The fact remains that capitalism is going to continue to launch provocations against the class and against Marxists, using these as pretexts for raids and harassment, to try to prevent the development of Marxism in the Labour Party.

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denounce the bombings..

This type of activity will continue because capitalism is decomposing rapidly in Britain as elsewhere. The victory of the Labour Party has made the apparatuses of capitalism even more desperate. Capitalism has nothing with which to confront its crisis save war, assassination and bombings. It cannot resurrect fascism, it has tried and failed. Its only perspective is to try to stimulate repression. It is responsible for the successions of murders in Northern Ireland in an effort to intimidate and to claim that the Irish struggle is about sectarianism.

We appeal again to the Labour movement to take a firm position on the bombings. It is necessary to see the objectives of this activity, how it has extended itself into attacks on Marxist groupings. Italy anticipated this process by several years, ending up with the fascist massacre in Brescia where the working class turned out and prevented the launching of a coup.

These provocations which may involve the penetration or utilisation on occasion of sectors close to the IRA stem from the state apparatus—special sectors of the army and the police. The Labour movement has to take a position on all this, because the struggle to overthrow capitalism is inevitably going to involve confrontation with the apparatus. But it is also an apparatus in decay. One resolution of the police federation conference, demanded strike action. The army is going to be affected by the Labour victory and the process of change in the Portuguese army—hence the Labour Party and the trade unions must press forward to explain the programme of Socialism to these sectors and demand full trade union rights for army and police.

We repeat that the left in the Labour Party and the unions must denounce the sinister forces that launch these provocations. It is naive to think that British imperialism is not organising all these incidents—without fascism what have they got? It is not surprising that the latest move by Yankee imperialism is to send special squads of assassins abroad to "defend its interests".

And the best way to smash these miserable plans of capitalism, is to impel and extend the programme of nationalisations and organise the permanent mass committees in the factories and workers' districts, thus furthering the fight to finish with the whole decrepit system of capitalism and construct Communism.

tions.

When this happens, it is because in Britain very important mobilisations are near. The British proletariat has broken the isolation from the world to which the trade union leaderships had submitted it. It is necessary to find the organs which correspond to the breaking of this isolation. The fundamental progress in the Labour Party is its constant inclination towards programmatic struggles. They are not electoral struggles, but struggles of programme. And a leadership must be organised for this conclusion.

The trade unions must propose plans of nationalisations, of interventions in the government with a plan for socialist measures, of nationalisations with workers' control, and appeal for a united front with this objective. It is necessary to make an appeal to the European workers' movement, to the world workers' movement, to the Socialists, Communists, for a united front with a programme of "Out with imperialism! Out with capitalism!"

The Labour victory is an electoral victory which affirms the proletariat in its strikes, its stoppages, in its defeat of the Conservatives. It affirms the will and the security of the proletarian vanguard that this is the way. And it is going to prepare for this.

J. Posadas **13 Oct. 1974**

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THE ASSASSINATION OF TURCIOS BY THE C.P. OF GUATEMALA IS THE CONSEQUENCE OF THE FAILURE OF ALL THE ATTEMPTS TO ELIMINATE THE GUERRILLAS

J. Posadas

Fidel Castro praised Turcios — the Guatemalan — as they would do it in the circus or the theatre, or as they would present him on television. It was not the presentation of a revolutionary leader, but as in the theatre or circus, the director comes forward and presents; "Here is my best pupil". A person who is unknown to the whole world, without an idea in his head, who never gave a political opinion; he presents him "here is the great hero of Guatemala". This is what they do in circuses. In the Revolutionary struggle there is nothing like this, it is not decent, nor honourable, nor necessary, but Castro presents him as "the hero of Guatemala". He was no hero; the only idea of this guy was conciliation with capitalism or the internal struggle and the resistance to the 13th of November, the IV International and the Trotskyists; but Yon Sosa remains with the programme of the Socialist Revolution.

Through a combination of difficulties of the 13th of November movement; how to function as a party, its limitations, the lack of historical period to develop as a party and for its militants to acquire the sureness and the leadership of the party, above all the sureness; the pressure of the communist party, of Fidel Castro, of Turcios supporting themselves on the national limitations, they have succeeded in making the MR 13 of November expel two trotskyists. But they have not succeeded in making it abandon the programme of the Socialist revolution. And in the declarations of Yon Sosa, after the expulsion of the two trotskyists, they say that they are maintaining the Programme of the Socialist Revolution; and when he speaks of the history of the 13th of November movement, he thanks the IV International ,that is to say, us, that we have helped them to understand Marxism.

It was Turcios who had to go to liquidate Yon Sosa. They believed that it was enough to liquidate the trotskyists, to expel the trotskyists, in order to corner Yon Sosa. Turcios and Fidel Castro hoped that it would be enough to make Yon Sosa submit himself to Fidel Castro through Turcios. Yon Sosa did not submit. It was Turcios who looked for a contact with the MR 13th and declared that he was disposed even to fight for the workers and peasants programme for the workers and peasants government, that he was disposed to fight and unite with the MR 13 on this programme. While at the same time the Communist Party had declared and worked openly in alliance with Montenegro, the president of Guatemala. And the appeal of Montenegro that they abandon the revolution, the guerrilla, was directed at the Communist party to give a hand to the Communist Party so that it could influence Turcios, so that they would abandon the guerrilla struggle ,and moreover, to bring about the dissolution of the MR 13th. The MR 13th went forward, and Turcios did not accept either because Turcios reflected the position of Fidel Castro, a centrist position and not that of the Communist Party. He was an obstacle to the Communist Party. This is the accident of Turcios. They have liquidated him, they have killed Turcios, The Communist Party killed Turcios ! as they are going to kill all they can who are an obstacle to their policy.

They have not only killed Guevara in Cuba, they have killed Turcios in Guatemala. They have not killed us because they have not been able to. They are going to kill whatever obstacle is put in their way. This is the assassination of the Communist Party. Because of this Fidel Castro who presented Turcios as at a theatre or circus, has not said a word about Turcios whereas if he had really been in an accident, he would have said something. He said nothing. It is a government in which there is a conciliation of tendencies. But Fidel Castro did not say a word about Turcios. It is absurd to ignore that it was not an accident. The car crashed says the reports. Good, we know something of these things. This person does not travel in any old car. He goes in a car which can move fast. They are the cars which they use in actions, and when he goes in a car which crashes, it is because it was prepared in a way so that he was not able to control the car. And anyway, who said that the car crashed ? Who said it ? They riddled it with bullets, with bombs, liquidated him and presented it as an accident.

The proof that it was an assassination of the Communist Party to show to the government of Montenegro that they are against the guerrillas and that this is a basis of conciliation with Mendez Montenegro, is the official burial which they made. Turcios was the enemy number one, among others, of Mendez Montenegro; an enemy they were looking for, that they were giving millions of dollars for his head. Then the government accepts to give a public funeral for him as a hero of the country and moreover, he was given a police escort. He was given an escort. Even though it was only a single policeman, it was on official escort. The police were not there to look for Turcios and his people but to be an escort. This is the conciliation with the Communist Party. Filthy and miserable.

Fidel Castro must condemn this. This must be condemned. He must correct his declaration when he said that the IV International was "pestilential". This assassination is pestilential. And to correct his errors Fidel Castro must begin by correcting this. He must condemn the Communist Party and declare that this was an assassination. Fidel Castro doesn't say it because he is frightened the Communists will say "If you speak of Turcious we will speak about Guevara". It is a game between conciliators. It is an assassination which is going to have consequences and of that there isn't any doubt. And it is a retreat of the whole world-wide intention of that rabble who had wanted to use the political fight within the MR 13 November to single out, to denigrate the IV International the leadership of the IV International and Posadas in particular.

All these imbeciles, idiots who have written 'the maniac Posadas' and all those things which they have written about Guatemala; there, one has the consequences. There one has the result. We expect nothing from these people, who learn nothing because they are imbeciles and moreover because they don't have any revolutionary intentions. But it is going to show how history is not held up by the preoccupation of the imbeciles who dedicate themselves to political activity.

It is necessary to demand of Fidel Castro that he draws up a declaration condemning the assassination of Turcious. It is the same betrayal, and the same assassination as the communists have done in Venezuela betraying a whole leadership and before that Ojeda and all the leadership of the Communist Party who were against that half the Central Committee of the Communist Party who opposed the guerrillas. They betrayed all of them. And the last declaration of the Venezuelan government says : 'this is a report which came from the Communist Party'. The Venezuelan government knows well that it puts its ally in danger but at the same time as it compromises it; its ally which it allows to come and go out of the country, they have to denounce it.

In all the world the communist leadership is going to act like this; the communist leadership not the communist base. The Communist leadership is going to try to follow this road.

It is absurd to admit that the government of Guatemala allows homage to be rendered in a public funeral accompanied by a police escort, to a man who was apparently enemy number one,—according to them. This is totally absurd. It only happens in films and the communists believe that they can act as in a film.

The claims which they make over Turcios are made for the simple minded. Who knew about Turcios ? What articles exist by Turcios ? What political orientation did he give ? What did he achieve? He was a good shot. We respect this; we respect all revolutionairies whatever their tendency who struggle to overthrow capitalism. But to respect does not mean to regard them as a leadership, as political leaders. Turcios was not a political leader. Turcios was simply a guerrilla who knew how to kill and who did not fear death. That is all. He was politically incapable. Is there any evidence of a single idea from Turcios ? The only idea which has been attributed to him is a repetition of the line of the 13th November movement. But when he spoke on his own account he spoke imprecisely because he spoke of a government in which the whole people is involved and also peasants and workers. What is this? The worker and peasant government is not a government of all the people. It is a worker and peasant government. All the people is a bourgeois, petit bourgeois conception. Turcios was not a man of ideas; he was not a leader, a political organiser. When the Communists pay him so much homage, it is not because of any work or capacity or political organisation of Turcios. They say he is a great man, a great fighter for his people, a great hero who did not fear death. Very well there are a million like this, in Vietnam, but there are few who are capable of making a programme and a policy and also have the capacity to organise the masses which is what counts.

We render homage to all revolutionaries who die in the revolution, to all without distinction of tendency, but this does not mean crediting Turcios as a leader with a political capacity which he did not have. To do so is a concession to empiricism. And in glorifying Turcios they are glorifying empiricism. No the revolution is not won by simply shooting. If the shooting is not the extension of the political line and of the objective to overthrow capitalism, the shooting is valueless. On the other hand it reflects and gives satisfaction to bourgeois desperation, the petit bourgeois who feel themselves to be suffocated by the crisis of capitalism but nothing more.

It is the political organisatsion of the party which answers the problem and in which the guerrilla struggle can form one of its aspects. It is the programme and objective to overthrow capitalism, the political organisation and the political struggle of the masses which gives the guerrilla activity an objective progressive path.

At the same time this acclamation of Turcios shows up the groundless charges, the lying, the denigrations which they have wished to make with respect to the expulsion of the Trotskyists from the 13 November movement.But what is important is that the Nov. 13 movement continues with a policy and a programme which is Trotskyist. And now Turcios is liquidated and the FAR is liquidated.

The maintaining of the FAR will be in form only, putting a bomb somewhere and firing a shot in the air as justification. But it is already liquidated. They did not liquidate Turcios in order to put another in his place; they liquidated him in order to liquidate the guerrillas. And now they are going to use all their forces with the intention of eliminating the guerrillas, of Yon Sosa and the November 13 movement. They are going to act as agents, informers and guides to the army to try to eliminate Yon Sosa and the guerrillas because this is the programme of the Communist Party. The programme of the Communist party is peaceful co existence , it is against the revolution and the actions of Turcios did not favour this. It is sufficient to conclude that such an accident was an assassination. The proof lies in the public homage which they have given to him. The public homage is directed to exert an influence on the petit bourgeoisie to try to show that the communist party grieves at the death of this guerrilla and it cannot help but see this. But at the same time this official burial is directed to show that the government has changed and has an attitude of solidarity with or of understanding and of democratic respect for the ex guerrillas. It is an appeal for the decomposition of the guerrilla base of Turcios. This is the reason for the official burial of Turcios.

All those who have eulogised Turcios among them the Cuban government will have to correct themselves shortly. All this intrigue is the basis for the united front and the conciliation with the government of Montenegro.

We affirm and denounce, at the same time, the fact that they are going to concentrate all their strength to try to liquidate the November 13 movement of Yon Sosa.

And we appeal at the same time to Yon Sosa and to the November 13 movement to reestablish their organic links with the IV International. In effect they have never been broken but it is necessary to reestablish their organic links with the IV International, and to maintain the same revolutionary activity which has shown itself to be the most honourable, and of the greatest potential, the greatest benefit for the development of the revolution in Guatemala.

The money is for the use of the revolution and the revolution has a world scale. The Trotskyist revolutionaries collected the money which they say was appropriated. The Trotskyists appropriated nothing.

The Trotskyists nowhere in the world steal money because to steal money means individual use. When money is used for the revolution it is not appropriating money; it is using money where it is most valuable. And what determines the most valuable use is the conscious leadership of the revolution. And the Trotskyists will only intervene in this way to obtain money. They do not act individually; they gain no personal benefit.

There has never been a political discussion in history around this type of use. What has to be discussed **is for what purpose** this money was being used. When the Chinese or the bolsheviks or the Cubans took money and gave it to the revolution in another country what were they doing? They used the money of one country to

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CALLS UPON THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT, FIDEL CASTRO TO REHABILITATE HIMSELF IN RELATION TO THIS FARCE OF THE DEATH OF GUEVARA AND TO IMPEL THE WORLD ANTI-CAPITALIST, ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT

Fidel Castro has made an immense retreat when he was in process of advancing. His discourse and his positions in OLAS demonstrated a desire to advance the revolution. He believes that history is going to justify him because he has no bureaucratic interests or intentions. It is true. He has no bureaucratic interests. But he has a bureaucratic intellectual interest. Hence his paternalist attitude. Otherwise he wold not behave in this way. He tries to do this, to forget what he has done, hoping to be able to justify himself later with the advance of the revolution by saying that the death of Guevara was a necessary evil which he was not able to hinder in time and which it was necessary to accept. This is false! When Lenin in 1921 and 1922 resolved upon the invasion of Poland, he did something more difficult than supporting Guevara. Russia was confronting world Capitalism, but he resolved to invade Poland.

It was an invasion only in form, basically it was the expansion of the proletarian revolution from the Soviet Union to Poland. This meant confronting world public opinion, a world force much more powerful than that which Cuba has to confront. The masses of Vietnam and of Syria confront the most powerful military apparatus in history. Yankee Imperialism has the power to destroy half the world, but it does not have the power to intimidate, and terrorise the masses of Syria or Vietnam.

Our Cuban section of the IV International has just published, on the 15 August 1967, a document addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Fidel Castro calling upon them to correct their attacks against Trotskyism. This document declared that OLAS has adopted political positions which are Trotskyist, which are a part of the Trotskyist programme, which are an advance however limited, towards revolutionary positions. It calls for the applications of such positions and for the installation of soviets. It calls for the liberation of the Trotskyst comrades imprisoned in Cuba. It denounces the Cuban government for the ignominy of keeping the Trotskyists still in prison in Cuba after this approach to revolutionary positions, after this meeting of OLAS. The Trotskyists are revolutionary prisoners. These are the consequences of the time when they assassinated Guevara.

Our Cuban section small, resolute with the class capacity which Cuba embodies, defends the truth, makes an appeal to the Cuban government to defend China unconditionally. It appeals for a United Front with China, with the masses of the Workers States, with the revolutionary exploited masses of the world, for a world united front to overthrow what remains of Capitalism. It calls for a public discussion. We demand of the Cuban government complete freedom for our Cuban section to function publicly, to publish its press.

We demand of the Cuban government that it gives complete liberty to all the imprisoned Trotskyist comrades and all the revolutionary prisoners, that it gives full rights to revolutionary tendencies to function on the sole condition of defending unconditionally the Cuban Workers State, and at the same time that it allows the greatest publicity and revolutionary public polemic in searching for the best means, the best ways to make the revolution advance. If proletarian democracy existed as our Cuban section demands, and the IV International and the Trotskyists of the entire world demand, we would not be in the world situation as it is today. The present struggle, of the "Cultural Revolution" in China which is an indirect and limited form of the political revolution, seeks this way. We demand of the Cuban government a complete and free discussion of all these problems.

In Cuba there exists a powerful Guevarist tendency which forces the government to change and to advance. Without the existence of this wing, the Communists would have strength in Cuba, they would dominate and would be already submitted to the Yankees. They would already have conciliated with the Yankees, as did the Communist Party in Venezuela. The force which is opposed to the Communist Party is not the declaration of Fidel Castro, it is the Cuban masses who are against the policy of conciliation of the Communist Party. Guevara has emerged from this base. It is absurd to think that he would have renounced that. He was a centre. It is absurd to thing that he would have said "I am going to liberate other nations" when there was such a struggle within Cuba. The strength of the Cuban masses must give the base for the leadership of the Communist Party and of the Cuban government, to have the strength and the assurance that the people are not going to advance in no matter what circumstance. It must know the truth about the assassination of Guevara, know that Guevara has been assassinated for having defended revolutionary ideas. The Cuban government must have confidence in the masses. The masses will not weaken in front of this situation.

Here is the force on which Fidel Castro must base himself to be rehabilitated. He must make a public declaration, orgnise a public discussion in Cuba from now on. We call for a public discussion throughout Cuba on the policy of Guevara, on his last positions, declarations and appeals. Let this be discussed; let these positions be adopted.

What they are in process of doing in Cuba, is making an obituary, showing that Guevara rode a bicycle, that he was a good boy when he was small, that he was a good doctor, that he became a revolutionary, that he was very friendly with people. They do not show him as a revolutionary leader.

They make a whole obituary to conceal the fact that he was advancing and that his life took on importance when he adopted revolutionary positions. That is why they tried to eliminate him, to push him aside as an adventurer who left to create a disturbance. This is absurd. The declaration of Castro is an ignominy, just as the attack on the Trotskyists was an ignominy. It is ignominious to present Guevara as an adventurer; a "type" who had no fear of death, an adventurer. This was erroreous. Guevara protected his life. He protected his life and he was right.

It is logical and right that every revolutionary should protect his life. To protect his life does not mean that he has a fear of death or is going to hide himself. To protect his life means not to go on adventures, to act in the best possible way for the progressive advance of humanity. Revolutionary leaders arrange their life for this reason, so as to be the most useful. They do not evade responsibilities but they do not seek adventures. And that is an adventure. The proof? A small group invaded, and was killed without anything remaining. There is not a single peasant who can say: there is an uprising which has called upon me to take power in Bolivia. Not a single one. There is nothing to compare with what the Syrian masses are doing, with what the masses of Vietnam are doing, with what the Cuban masses are doing in Cuba now. What the masses are doing now in Bolivia has nothing to do with the so called Guevara. This goes against all logic, all previous tradition. We call upon the Cuban government to have a public discussion on Guevara.

We repeat that this body is not that of Guevara. It is necessary to analyse politically. Guevara could not have been in Bolivia nor acted in the way that he was supposed to be acting in Bolivia. It was not Guevara who acted in this way, whoever else it was. We repeat that there are no guerrillas in Bolivia. They do not exist because there has been no evidence of their rôle. No action nor political life. There have only been the communiques of Barrientos of an assassin with whom Fidel Castro and world Capitalism allied to present Guevara in Bolivia.

Both have different interests. Fidel Castro has the intention of freeing himself from Guevara and trying to separate him from the masses: "Guevara has been assassinated, do not hope for any more from him." "I have nothing to do with that, I did not kill him", this is the object of Castro's game. Otherwise why such a parody? If he did not feel guilty for having been the accomplice in this assassination, why make such declarations? He could have said simply: "Guevara has been killed", and make a political history of Guevara and show that he was in Bolivia.

But then he would have showed it Fidel Castro claims, he would have remained in Cuba. Because it was in Cuba that he was able to defend what he was defending. The proof of this is that it is in Cuba that a furious struggle is being conducted against the communist parties.

In the meeting of OLAS, there was a struggle against the communist parties, against the bureaucracy of the Workers States. It is there that Guevara needs to be. He was a centre from which basis it was possible to influence the rest of the world. The centralisation of life shows that it is the central organisms which influence. From the depths of Bolivia in a pass, in a cavern or in a precipice, it is not possible to influence the world revolution except in a very small way without importance. But in Cuba, it is possible.

OLAS is the proof of this. Why was Guevara not there? When they show that Guevara was outside this centre which was able to influence the entire world by the taking of certain positions, it is because they have liquidated him, otherwise he would have been there. This is the ignominious comedy which Fidel Castro is playing against the world revolution. It is an ignominious comedy which Fidel Castro is playing against the world revolution. It is an ignominious comedy and we invite him to correct it. The world working class is going to demand that he renders account.

We have entered into the final settlement of accounts. In this final encounter, the masses are going to demand account in liquidating Capitalism. There is only a short time before this takes place. Here is the struggle which they are going to conduct to vindicate Guevara. There is great need in Cuba to discuss publicly and openly. The Soviet bureaucracy in every way is the one that has gained for the moment. That is why in the Soviet Union they have hardly mentioned Guevara. There is no text in the Soviet Union, in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, an the other Workers States or in China. They barely say "Guevara is dead". They are his enemies.

One can see at the same time the stupidity of what the Chinese leadership is doing; not a word on Guevara. Why do they not intervene? They must intervene in this problem. That is part of the world revolution, of the permanent world process of the world revolution, of its world centralisation. The Chinese do not intervene because they have no programme, no policy, no objectives, no assurance for tomorrow. Otherwise they would intervene to condemn this comedy.

The Chinese are aware that Guevara has been assassinated. Their silence shows this. If they were sure that he had not been assassinated, they would make declarations as they do when an Albanian dies; an obituary. If they have not done this, it is because they do not wish to involve themselves in these manoeuvres, in these macabre comedies. But at the same time, they show that they lack security because otherwise they would make a condemnation. If they felt themselves to be sure, they would condemn and appeal in consequence to support the programme of Guevara.

To condemn the assassination of Guevara is to support the ideas of Guevara. That is why they made him die in an adventure, to hide the depth of his ideas, to show that Guevara was a man deceived and to consequently weaken his position and the policy which he defended until the moment when he was assassinated, to weaken the force, the influence, the capacity which he had acquired in this process. And he acquired this influence and this capacity by adopting Trotskyist positions. His positions were neither Castroite nor communist.

The positions which exist at present in history are: Trotskyist, Chinese, Guevarist, Fidelist and those of the Soviet bureaucracy. There are no other positions. Guevara approaches the Trotskyists but

Appeal to the Syrian Government

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

possible conditions to develop the triumph of the revolutionary military war.

The IV International calls to the Baath, to the Syrian Government, to the trade unions and to the federation of Syrian Trade Unions, to the International Federations of Arab Workers, so that they call to the Egyptian trade unions, to the United Socialist Party of Egypt, to the government and to the Egyptian masses to intervene in a united front to overthrow Capitalism and Imperialism in the Middle East.

In the name of the IV International we call to the Baath, to the Syrian government to carry forward this appeal for the Socialist unification of Syria, Iraq, Egypt and Algeria by agitation, on the radio, on the newspapers, with mobilisations and demonstrations in Syria, demonstrations calling to the rest of the Arab masses to take the land, to take the factories, and to form communes, soviets, to form workers, peasants and soldiers councils, to call the army to rebel against the leaders allied to Capitalism and Imperialsim, to call to the Jewish masses to rebel against their leaders and take the factories, and the land, to form communes and soviets to form workers and peasants governments. Now is the moment to do it. It is necessary to form revolutionary tendencies based on this programme. It is necessary to agitate, make demonstrations and meetings, it is necessary to hold popular tribunals so that the masses can directly judge the traitors and the conciliators with Imperialism. It is necessary to eliminate all the apparatus and structure on which the bourgeoisie is based: army, police, parliament and to create organs like militias, popular tribunals, workers control, soviets and communes. It is on the basis of the immense confidence in the world development of the Socialist Revolution, of the confidence demonstrated by the Syrian masses, that the IV International makes this appeal in unconditional defence of the Syrian Socialist Revolution, as of the Socialist Revolution in the Middle East and of all the world.

Long live the coming progress of the ion!

Long live the next progress of the Syrian Revolution and the Middle East! For the Socialist Soviet unification of all the Arab states, including the Jewish masses with self determination.

Enlarged meeting of the International Secretariat of the IV International.

The Healy group resorts to fascist methods

We publish the following letter because we think it is necessary for revolutionaries and militants in the workers movement to understand the nature of the organisation of the SLL which masquerades as "Trotskyist" but is more akin to a fascist organisation in its methods and to social democracy in its perspectives.

Naturally we completely disassociate ourselves from the opinions of Ernest Tate as the organisation to which he belongs is another miserable perversion of Trotskyism. The so called "United Secretariat" of Germain, Maitan etc gives no revolutionary perspectives for the world masses, has followed Castro quite blindly, has no real comprehension of the process in China, and regards the prevention of the nuclear war as more important than the world seizure of power. In other words they have capitulated to peaceful co-existence. The SWP wing of this outfit is nothing more than a liberal organisation in the USA and they all showed their true colours in their agreement with the Stalinist bureaucracy that the intervention of the IV International in Guatemala was "adventurist." Having said this and we could say much more on this subject, the fact remains that Tate has a perfect right to sell his literature. He has the right to exercise the right of tendency.

As our readers can see, the beating up of Ernest Tate was systematic and the brazen manner in which it was done by Healy's hoodlums shows very clearly the openly vicious anti working class nature of the Healy gang. These stoneage creatures are always bragging about their ability to organise demonstrations of "Youth." The latter are generally petit bourgeois and student gatherings but they also include more than a scattering of lumpen proletarian elements, ideal material for beating up operations. The presence of these people is aimed at deterring anyone who might have different thoughts from the leadership. As we have discussed before the Healy group offers no serious revolutionary perspectives for Great Britain. Their activity during the Car mobilisations show that like the CP, they are masters of verbal games. They actually said in one article in their paper that strikes must be made through official channels. They have not argued for factory occupations but they are very good at resolutions in TU branches on nationalisation under workers control but suggesting no means of doing this. They turn the Transitional programme into symbolic utterances. In fact as they have shown over their attitude to the proposed walk in at Tractors and Transmission they were against it. In other words they take up an openly social democratic counter revolutionary position.

The period now opening is one with enormous revolutionary world and national perspectives, and it is at this time that the Healy group will inevitably become more and more vicious in its dealings with revolutionaries and anybody who exposes its non-Trotskyist character. There can be no doubt that some of the people in the organisation would at another period have worked in fascist groupings.

We have shown before that the Healy grouping has a real function in relation to Imperialism. It can confuse the vanguard but increasingly as Imperialism becomes more desperate, it will attempt to use its agents in the Healy organisation to act as provocateurs, to terrorise revolutionaries. Imperialism is very weak, it is incapable of mobilising big fascist currents but it will use what can be used and the SLL outfit is ideal with its gangster methods and the fascist mentality which prevails within it.

We denounce the beating up of Tate.

The Healy press is always piously denouncing the misdemeanors of the "communist" parties but fundamentally there is **no difference** between Stalinist and Healyite methods. The SLL and the CP leaderships and the LP leaderships are identical in that all of them are anti-working class in outlook. They have no time for proletarian democracy. They do not want real discussion in their ranks. We repeat to all militants and workers that the beating up of Ernie Tate is not an isolated incident and will not be the last until a real workers state exists in Great Britain and organisations like the SLL in the service of imperialist interests no longer exist.

We call upon all YS branches to denounce this brutal beating which has nothing in common with Trotskyism but a great deal to do with capitalist and Fascist methods.

It is necessary to be aware of the odious anti-working class nature of the SLL to understand that its function, like that of the Kosygin CPs, is to mislead and to confuse militants with endless "lobbies" and vague agitation.

It is necessary for militants to observe the confusionist line of the SLL, to realise that its frenetic viciousness is only of value to Imperialism. Violence is permissable against the class enemy, not against misguided militants. The SLL and its activities disrupt and confuse. Their lumpen elements, and sectarian viciousness provide imperialism with stooges against Trotskyism. We warn militants that the methods of the SLL are not aimed at capitalism but at the interests of the proletariat, the interests of socialist truth and perspectives.

The Rhodesian crisis further weakens imperialism

Wilson has failed again. In the preparations for the Third World War British imperialism desperately has sought for a solution favourable for Imperialism over Rhodesia and again it has proved impossible. World imperialism finds it more and more difficult to rally its forces and paper the cracks. However Wilson and the capitalist class he represents has no interest in the freedom of the African masses. Whatever he does will only be a manoeuver to block the masses. We call for strikes and demonstrations in support of the Rhodesian masses, with slogans of encouragement for the African masses, for a workers and peasant militia in Rhodesia, for the expropriation of all imperialism at home.

It is necessary for the Chinese to orientate the whole African continent with the perspective of the United Socialist Federation of Africa. They must denounce all the games at UNO. U Thant is acting as a front whilst world imperialism prepares for war. And above all the Chinese comrades must use all means to help the masses directly in Rhodesia with correct appeals for the siezure of the land and the sending of arms and money. The ruling cliques in Rhodesia and S. Africa are preparing for a bloodbath of the masses. It is necessary that the masses are given a clear perspective for the taking of power on the basis of the workers and peasant militia and the seizure of imperialist and capitalist properties.

OUR PROGRAMME

1. A 35 hour week in all industries.
2. Three weeks paid holiday in all industries, leading to 4 weeks paid holiday.
3. An all-round 30% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.
4. Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
5. Profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.
6. Pensions to equal the average wage, and to rise with the cost of living. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60 for men and 55 for women.
7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training and further education.
8. Students to be maintained on the wage of the average worker, which will increase with the cost of living.
9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of defence committees to protect against landlords' thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harrassment by police. Organisations of tenants committees to have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.
10. Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers management, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisatsion of all key industries without compensation including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manufacturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Industrial unions on a militant anti-capitalist programme.
16. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
18. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.
19. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage. and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
20. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO. etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of supply

Editorial

(Continued from page 1)

now so intense that action by workers in any country in the world has a great influence on all workers. And this is despite the absence of the very necessary mass international workers organisation.

Despite the lack of a workers centre in Great Britain, the struggle of the masses is continuous and they are not held back by transient defeats. All the apparatuses of the traditional workers leaderships are bypassed by the masses. The C.P. does all it can to sabotage—Paynter the C.P. Miners leader tried to prevent a strike in Scotland recently, but all the pressures in the world centralised in the process in China, cannot be contained by Kosygin, Johnson, Wilson or Gollan.

We base our confidence on the struggles of the masses in this country and the world. In Germany capitalism is so weak it has to lean on the apparatus of Willy Brandt, whose party has a workers basis.

In this country the constant struggles of the masses, the seamen, car workers, etc, have prepared the conditions for the revolutionary current and a new workers leadership based on the factory committees (shop stewards). We call for the programme of nationalisations under workers control, Equal pay for women, etc, to be pressed forward on the basis of factory occupations, inter industrial strikes, work sharing with no

E. TATE'S LETTER

Dear Editor,

I believe it is a tradition in England that all socialists should be allowed to sell or distribute their literature, without hindrance or fear of violence, outside public meetings. I would like to report an outrageous violation of this tradition to your readers and ask for their assistance in preventing it from happening again.

As quite a number of people on the Left know, I manage Pioneer Book Service, a large outlet for Trotsky's books in England, and I or some of my friends try to cover most meetings with our literature. On Thursday, 17th November, I went along to Caxton Hall to sell literature outside the Socialist Labour League's meeting on the 10th anniversary of the Hungarian revolution.

I arrived at 7.15 p.m. and began to sell the **International Socialist Review** and a pamphlet, critical of the S.L.L., entitled, "Healy Reconstructs the Fourth International." Several people were selling literature. A group of Irish Communists were selling their publication and someone was selling the English **Militant.**

Initially there was some baiting of me by the Socialist Labour League supporters who were selling the Newsletter in the doorway of Caxton Hall, but nevertheles I was not prevented from selling.

At 7.50, Gerry Healy and Michael Banda entered the hall. A few seconds later Healy came to the entrance and indicated to his followers that I should be removed from the front of the hall.

I was immediately set upon and physically assaulted by six or seven Socialist Labour League supporters. My literature was knocked from my hands–I was punched and thrown to the ground, my glasses were smashed, and as I lay on the ground I was kicked repeatedly in the groin and stomach.

After the attack I had to attend the casualty department of Middlesex Hospital and I was forced to stay in bed for the greater part of the next day. At the moment of writing I am still badly bruised.

The issue is a simple one. The Socialist Labour League Leadership hope by their actions to prevent me selling my literature outside their meetings. They hope to take away my freedom of speech. This attack comes after a number of threats against me and my friends by members or supporters of the Socialist Labour League. At Brighton during the Labour Party Conference, my comrades were physically threatened and prevented from selling our literature. The same was true at the recent anti-war demonstration in Liege, Belgium, where I was threatened.

I refuse to be intimidated. Neither a Fascist Mosley nor an ultra-left sectarian Gerry Healy who imagines himself to be a Trotskyist, should be allowed to curtail our democratic rights. I intend to be present at the next public meeting of the Socialist Labour League to sell my literature. I ask for the full support from all people on the Left to ensure I do it without interference from the misguided followers of Gerry Healy.

Fraternally,
ERNEST TATE

The student mobilisations

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of a revolutionary programme and in consequence under the influence of Trotskyism. The decisive proof is that where there is a pro-Chinese party, it tries to develop a revolutionary policy, is influenced by us immediately and enters into a united front with us; as in Mexico, Italy, Belgium and afterwards in other countries. There is no rival to our parties but so that our parties have no rivals in Peru particularly, as in other countries of Latin America, it is necessary that it demonstrates its capacity for organisation. There must be more publication, more agility, more dynamism, more resolution, more serenity. It is necessary to mature, to have greater preoccupation to and the United Front. The present crisis, towards the left of the Chinese communist party and of the Chinese government will favour enormously the solidifying and maturity of currents towards a revolutionary Policy on a world scale among the student movement, the petit bourgeoisie, particularly, and the worker movement. The crisis is going towards our leadership, that is to say confirming the politics, the criticisms, the corrections and propositions and the activity of the IV International.

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in the productive apparatus. And to demand proletarian democracy so that the workers can speak, so that all tendencies may intervene, sell all the publications within the workers camp, to stimulate the intervention of the proletariat as a leading class which can intervene today to decide and determine in the productive apparatus. For this it is necessary to make a conscious intervention which defends the interests of the proletariat, which profects, foresees and orientates itself to consistently defend the interests of the proletariat. And to defend the interests of the

and Flemish languages, because they are problems which almost all the petit bourgeoisie and part of the working class live. The bourgeoisie artificially raises them in order to divert the attention of the class, to impede the activity of the class, the unity and centralisation of the class, to impede unity so that it does not think as a class. It is necessary to show that the division by languages is totally unnecessary. The tendency of culture, of the economy, of social development tends to unify everything. In a country which has existed for so many years it can be seen

controls the productive apparatus and commerce, it has more weight and tries to increase its weight in the leadership of the country. It uses the inter-bourgeois struggle, giving it far more importance than it actually has in order to prevent the petit bourgeoisie being won by the proletariat and to maintain it on the plane of the struggle for the fatherland, country language etc. In this sense it is necessary to affirm and to extend the discussion, that it is absurd to contain the development of the country on account of language problems. It restricts the cultural, scientific,

These are the principles which are generalised throughout the world. There is no longer the seperation which existed before between developments in one country and another. Now it is all united. The attitude of a sector of the French communist party requires a left. But they

turn to back page

THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITANT FUNCTION OF THE HOUSE WE LIVE IN

J. POSADAS 9.11.72

In publishing this document we appeal to all the organs of the party and to all forces in the Labour movement to use it as an instrument of organisation in the struggle for socialism. The social organisation of capitalism imposes a fracture between consciousness and existence that is the inevitable result, of the forced separation between production and the ownership of the means of production. In bourgeois parties the separation between words and deeds is necessary in order to preserve the bourgeoisie and its system based on exploitation. In the workers parties the separation between the fight for socialism and the 'private life' is the consequence of a degeneration which comes from a limited and regionalist conception of marxism and of the multiple pressures exerted by the capitalist system. But the masses, and in particular the masses in Vietnam, with their organisation of the sentiments and human relations submitted to the objective struggle for socialism, have shown that there is no other way.

This is the same conception with which Posadas is constructing the international, and through documents like this one the communist and workers vanguard throughout the world.

Dear Comrades,

You have invited us to inaugurate this house and it is very important for you to realise that you have a new place in which to work. Whether or not it is a new house is not important, but it is a place that must be better used than the last one. This has to be a locale for you. It may be a Party locale, but it is a locale for you. You have to live here with the understanding and the determination to progress a hundred times more than before. A hundred times more. This change of home must mark an increase in your revolutionary activity.

The change itself is unimportant. What is important is to use new means - even if they are the same as before - which will make it easier for you, and make you determined to increase your militant capacity, will and discipline. This has to be the conclusion of this inauguration. The inauguration in itself is not important, it is an opportunity we have taken - for fraternal discussion - to be able to raise and talk over these problems, as we are doing now.

It is necessary to improve the militant life, the militant preoccupation and the militant preparation. It is fundamental that before any action there is preparation. You have to take this place as a place of discussion, of study, of fraternal life, of communication, in which the most capable, the most elevated, can communicate with the rest and live together, relating to one another and elevating the militant relations and human relations too. There is no difference between the human and militant relations within the party. One can say militant and human relationship only when the party is not the centre that welds and unifies the whole of life. In the party there is no separation between militant and human, it is militant and human militant.

You have to associate the life here with the struggle for power in the country you live in. And to organise yourselves, to make a better organisation of the life in the house. I do not know, I am not familiar with the life in this house except through a very general reference, but I do know what necessity we have and what the contribution is. The need is very great, the contribution is small. The effort is very great, but the organisation of the effort is not. So you have to inaugurate this new house with a plan of theoretical, political and organisational progress. Begin by living together in a very profound way, in which the relationships are elevated in such a way as to construct fraternal relation and a frater- such a way as to construct fraternal relations and a fraternal atmosphere, a fraternal preoccupation, fraternal communication and concrete activity, conversation and discussion. Wherever we work and organise we drink tea, coffee or mate together. Some comrade usually makes a cake and we comment on the news in the papers, on the radio, we make texts and discuss problems of culture.

You have to feel that it is necessary to plan life. From entering to leaving there has to be a communication that is cordial and communicative, preoccupied to communicate to talk, to live together, and for there to be elevated relationships between comrades. To be preoccupied to communicate with one another, to receive reports from one another and to make meetings to discuss, exchange ideas and influence one another. It is necessary to have the preoccupation for knowledge to be common and to be able to nomogenise it. Homogenising the preoccupation, to be preoccupied that all progress and all discuss, that there is a level of preoccupation for the others, with the dignity of not thinking of oneself, without the indignity of thinking of oneself. And the most complete form is the collective elevation. You have to give yourselves this objective.

The order of the house has importance, but it is established very simply. Order is not just the way things are left, but how things are used. How they are left comes after this. And beginning with things of the mind. This is the main thing. This is the principle object; how things are left in the mind. If they are left badly then time cannot be found for what has to be done.

It is necessary to have the mind well ordered and the preoccupation systematically harmonised for all the signified progress, the preoccupation for scientific knowledge.

Discuss a lot. Discuss and comment for example, on the work of the Party done in the house. Take coffee or tea for a minute, or stop work for a minute to comment. Make commentaries. Read the papers and comment. Don't just communicate the news and leave it at that - comment on the news. Live the life of the day. Listen to the radio, read the papers and comment on the news. Have the preoccupation of communication and exchange of ideas and impressions, but always reasoning, reasoning, not making judgements that escape reason or impose on it or that are superficial.

Life in the house is still a centre of activity. As is the street, as is the factory, as is the trade union. The house too, without formally being a cell, the house is a cell. A place where there are comrades living together is a cell. independently of the fact that each one of you militates in different cells. It is a cell here. Isn't the prison a cell? And isn't the moon a cell? The three Soviet cosmonauts made a cellular meeting on the moon. And they communicated what they had been discussing on the moon to the party. Any place of meeting, gathering, living together or existence in the same place is a means of political life.

Time has to be organised to sleep as much as necessary and the rest dedicated to study. The entire epoch leads to a shortening of the amount of time dedicated to eating and sleeping. All future history leads to this. The human being dedicates a lot of time to food and unnecessary sleep. It is the product of a conservative constitution of the organism and a still very limited utilisation of the brain. We can already do this. Organising sleeping in order to sleep quickly and in four hours you can sleep a lot and so be able to dedicate a minimum of time to sleeping and the maximum time to reading and discussing. Not just each one reading, but discussing with the others, exchanging ideas, asking things. Like when Ta. comes to ask something, as she does, asking for ideas, political positions, living the life of the cell. Exchanging ideas and drawing conclusions to elevate the life of the house.

This which you have done here tonight, which is very good and which we will remember with all our profound communist affection, has to be done everyday, everyday, everyday. This is the way to live together, without subjection, in the most gentle, sweet and harmonious form of communist thought in the march is history. You have to organise to do this. And to have the confidence and security that this is the best and fastest and most complete way to progress. Take the necessity that one has to study and one has to have a plan of progress.

There is a good progress in the Party, but it is inferior to what it is possible to do. And the lack of order and organisation of the intellectual preoccupation prevents you drawing much more profit from the magnificent desire expressed in these cadres. We are very grateful for the very warm and good and fraternal reception you have given us. And within this gratitude there is our preoccupation for you to render ten times more. All the comrades. Ten times more is possible.

You must lead a more fraternal, more profound and more explanatory life with Ta., more reflexive and more persuasive. To feel that this comrade child has to see in you, in all of you, the preoccupation to educate her, not to fight her or dispute with her. She has to feel this. She has to feel in each one of you the preoccupation to give her explanations at the level of her comprehension. But at the level too of her intellectual preoccupation, which is very elevated. Her capacity of comprehension is still limited, her intellectual proccupation is very elevated. She is interested in reading a book by Steinbeck on a strike in the United States. It is a book which she may not understand. But you observe Ta. when she sings. She sings with a lot of passion, with a lot of harmony and with a lot of sentiment. In this she is expressing her sentiments, the degree of evolution of her sentiments which are not finding the necessary reception. And also the product of an education that has occurred in a decentralised way. You must set yourselves the project of helping Ta. to elevate herself, beginning be elevating yourselves. In such a way that Ta. feels fraternally welcome. Not repressed. Never repress a child. Even in the most important stages there may be critical judgements that may be severe, but not to repress the child. And an unjust attitude with a child is repression. And they take it very hard.

You have listened to Iv. who I have taken as an example from which to generalise - and do not think that I have taken him by chance, I take him because he metits it. I have criticised him very severely, but never repressed him. Because to repress is to smother the forces of reason and oblige him to be what the capitalist world teaches him to be, to fight everyone else. To provoke the individual reaction

Ta. has to see in the relations of the house the relations of justice, the preoccupation for her progress and explanation. She has aquired a series of habits - which is logical - habits of self defence like the capitalist system teaches. You have to understand that Ta. is a thermometer of all the rest of you, whether you are living here permanently or passing through. She is a very great source of education. Very, very, very great, of education, or order, of interior harmony. And this permits the development of forces of sentiment, of affection and consciousness that signify and permit the basis for centralisation. You have to see this. And at the same time, propose concrete progress: whether with Ta., or with yourselves. This is one of the most important consequences of the inauguration of this beautiful house. Not because the house is beautiful. The atmosphere is beautiful, the sentiment given by those that live here. The house in itself is just stone and walls. It has no importance. If it were a factory here, it would just be a factory, it is unimportant. But on the other hand, Trotskyist comrades live here and give the house a structure, of harmony and fraternity, in which the essential basis is the scientific decision to gain knowledge to accomplish the tasks which you have to fulfill. As a cell of this house to elevate the communist life, to communicate and organise the communist life; beginning with Ta.

We are in the conditions to make a much more elevated progress than is actually being made. All of us. Much more elevated. A better life, a better functioning, permits an infinitely greater elevation. A better relation between you and with Ta. is going to permit a greater security in the sentiments of each of you. Security, force and capacity to face any sort of problem. The most difficult problem for us is that we have no money and we have to bring out the Marxist Review. We need more time to be able to study and read, all of us. And we need to be able to publish all the texts that are going to be necessary.

When comrades refer to the patience we have, this is the way to see it, but it is not a question of patience. It is the organisation of the capacity to think and to foresee how much time is needed. It is not a question of patience, it is not an act of idealism of fate, but the comprehension that such an amount of time is needed for such a thing. The same when the proletariat waits to take power. it is the historic patience of the proletariat. This is the British proletariat that has been capable of waiting, of knowing how to wait and not allow itself to be taken by individual or clique sentiments and disputes but it has known how to wait historically. We say historic patience to give a common or popular example. It is valid to say patience because this means the capacity to wait, but this does not correspond to the quality required in this stage. It is dynamic, not passive waiting.

In the name of the International Secretariat and of the team that is working here, we salute and embrace all of you. The food was very good but that is not important. What is important is the fraternal meeting we have made and the conclusions for the future progress of all of us. We have organised our responsibility, not just accepted it but organised our responsibility to fulfill our historic function. And we are fulfilling it. But we need very much more. We do not have sufficient means. Neither does the Communist Party have the means. It has got money and militants, but it has got no ideas. It lacks means. We are ready to fulfill this historic function. We are ready and we are doing it. Our yield is still quite insufficient.

I salute too with all the comrades, the brief but very important meeting that we have made and which shows that every meeting ends as a cell meeting. It begins with a meal and ends with a resolution. It is the concrete way to unite the need we still have to make a celebration, with militant and organisational conclusions.

I am very happy to have been here tonight. The food is not important because we can met without the need for food. The meal was an excuse. We embrace you for the reception you gave us and for this fine food. The food is not important. I repeat, I ate heartily and I ate everything. But don't think that I ate out of gluttony, but to celebrate and through the happiness of being here. Next time you invite us we will make a balance of all the progress made. In the name of all the International I salute this new activity of of this house cell which will have a very great depth and is necessary in all the life of the International.

VIVA the new cell of the IV International in this house!
VIVA the communist welcome made by the comrades and the promise the night holds an incessant progress!
VIVA the ascent of comrade Ta. which will be the communist ascent of this house- cell!

Another comrade;
VIVA Comrade Posadas.

J. POSADAS.
9.11.1972

capitalism has, socially it feels insecure. It is not able to put itself as an example of progress. The standard of life in the country constantly declines, whereas the German workers state has economically overtaken Britain and the life of the population is one of constant progress. Any discussion on the validity of the monarchy leads on to other discussions. It raises how other countries have developed without a king or queen, of how the German workers state without a monarch provides housing and transport which is very cheap whereas in Britain it is very expensive. Capitalism feels that if a discussion starts which compares its monarchy with other systems, it will develop into a discussion where capitalism itself is compared with the alternative. If it felt secure it would not be so determined to avoid any questioning of the monarchy.

There will be opposition to the slogan of 'Out with the monarchy'. The apparatus in the trade unions and the Labour party will be against it because it involves questioning the whole direction that Britain is taking. Capitalism also will be perturbed, but it is a fundamental slogan for it gives a greater opportunity for the masses to intervene in a discussion. It allows a discussion on issues directly relevant to the interests of the population. Whereas the monarchy acts as a containing of discussion, the slogan of 'Out with the monarchy' develops one. It is necessary to link with this the slogan of 'For the Democratic Socialist Republic'. To oppose the political structure of the monarchy and propose 'Out with the monarchy, for the Democratic Socialist Republic'.

Human love 19.7.78

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It is necessary to direct oneself to children speaking to them in the way they speak, to live with them, not to speak the adult's language, nor expecting that the child reflects immediately. It is necessary to adapt oneself to them. When there are times when there are many things to do and it is necessary to decide, it is necessary to do it without damaging the capacity of resolution of the child. The child acquires security through seeing the behaviour of the adults, and security is developed and allowed through the way he is treated and the relationship with the adult. If he sees a relationship of superiority, even though he is treated well, he does not stop feeling that it is superiority. If he sees a relationship of condescension, of protection he also feels it and then he develops it in all the other behaviour.

The child acquires its way of thinking above all from the immediate environment, that is the house. Here he acquires the way and the method of thinking and then he develops the sentiment of doing what is useful and necessary and he acts intelligently. It is necessary to develop him to act intelligently. It is necessary to explain to the child in a dialectical form whatever the situation, then the child acquires the method and love for the method because then he understands life. So the problem does not appear to be of a small child in front of an enormous world, but he feels a big person. In the future humanity will be like this.

In the future, but not in the distant future, love will be theory, thinking. Without eliminating love between human beings through the relations between the sexes, now sex will not be what determines love, it will be a necessity like anything else, nothing more, than that. On the other hand human love will be elevated by theory, because it is when human love will be able — as it has to do now — to develop nature with the universe and the cosmos in order to see where we came from and where we are going. But not in order to investigate in an arrogant way so as to say "we are superior" but in order to obtain links and relations, then developing the consciousness that the earth is a stage of the existence of life and that as a consequence it is necessary to make relations with what is in the cosmos and the universe. Human love will be the basis for this and physics will be the basis of human knowledge, because everything else will be the result of it.

If 3000 years ago the Greeks made the basis of all today's science and all the culture, then it is necessary to imagine what humanity will have when it has the security and it knows why we are here!

The children see all this, they do not have the conception of this, but they receive the influence and the relations of the adult who lives preoccupied by the problems that he has and that more and more are, through the existence of the trade union and the workers parties, united and linked with the importance of social progress. The child has to see all this and therefore gains security.

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expanding on a world scale and could apparently guarantee an indefinite increase in the standard of living. The world communist movement stems from other origins completely. It was based on the need to break from the Social Democratic Second International, to break with the capitalist system, to destroy it and advance through the workers state based on the expropriation of capitalist property to socialism. Stalinism led to the temporary paralysis of this movement and its perversion into a form of social democracy collaborating with capitalism. But now the Soviet Union is reasserting revolutionary principles, that is the need to smash the state, the need to help with all possible means, revolutionary movements in countries submitted to imperialism and the need to develop a common anti capitalist and anti imperialist united front of the communist parties. Because of the previous complications caused by Stalinism some communist parties have developed conceptions about "pluralism" and euro communism to defend themselves from the Soviet Union. Capitalism has publicised all this to try to seal off the forces in the Labour party from the progressive influence of the Soviet Union, to make it appear that the social democracy has a future based on alliance with euro communism and "pluralism". All this is a distortion. Carrillo the main advocate of euro communism suffered a real defeat — even if a technical victory — on the attempt to eliminate Leninism as the doctrine of the Spanish communist party. An altogether superior discussion is developing in the French communist party on the need to understand Stalinism and the character of the Soviet Union. Berlinguer has to modify his positions on the historic compromise with the Christian democracy and make it plain that the communist party has the objective of liquidating capitalism. On a world plane where is there the perspective of a historic co-existence of capitalism and the workers states? The campaign over the dissidents by Carter is a sign of the total incompatibility of capitalism and the workers states. As most graphically illustrated by Africa, it is system against system and is the course of history which decides also the fate of the Labour party. Capitalism does not have the material means to develop the British economy. Every year that passes Britain is becoming more decrepit — even the sewerage system is collapsing because it has hardly been changed since the nineteenth century.

The Labour party conference showed that the apparatus that works in the interests of capitalism is still there and still powerful, but it can no longer govern and prevent discussion. The conditions that gave rise to it no longer pertain and more and more, it is being necessary for cadres in the trade unions and the party to rethink their positions, to free themselves from the pressure of bourgeois public opinion and ask where are we going, straight to hell with capitalism or progress towards a total reorganisation of society, without the monarchy but with planning, and the nationalisation of all the key industries under workers control.